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Selections.

FROM MISSISSIPPI.

THE VIEWS AND FEELINGS OF THE CONVENTION CANDIDATES AND THE POLITICIANS.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

VICKSBURG, Miss., July 21.

THE Provisional Governor of Mississippi, Judge Sharkey, has ordered that an election be held for delegates to a Convention to alter and amend the Constitution of the State, on the 7th of August, and that the Convention so elected be assembled on the 14th of the month, just one week after the election. This is, I believe, the first election and Convention under the new order of things in the Southern States. It is attracting very general interest throughout this State; and as this question of reconstruction, involving so many issues of vital importance to the Nation, is also attracting the attention of the people of the North, a few notes on the approaching Mississippi election and Convention, may prove of interest.

A sojourn of six months in Mississippi has brought me in contact in business and social relations with old citizens and prominent men from various parts of the State, and an acquaintance with their sentiments and feelings relating to national questions, the new system of labor, and the changed relations of society, has been quite interesting. I am strongly inclined to the opinion that it will prove inopportune that the first Convention to restore Federal authority in the Rebellious States should be held in Mississippi, a State whose citizens are so thoroughly indoctrinated in the principles which gave rise to secession. It would have been much better if North Carolina, with some of its loyal leaven, should have first taken action.

THE CANDIDATES FOR THE CONVENTION.

There is no lack of them. The people seldom suffer for men to serve them, and Mississippi is the last State to be in that unfortunate predicament. Candidates are coming forward plentifully, and the indications are that all the counties will be represented, and that it will comprise some of the ablest men of the State. The people recognise the fact that it is to be the most important assembly ever called to decide upon their interests and destiny, and generally are seeking to bring forward men of ability and legislative experience. But the stream cannot rise above the fountain, and the Convention will hardly be more loyal than the people. Among all the men named for the Convention, I doubt if there is hardly one who at the North would be considered a loyal man. It is hard to find a man in the whole State who has not in some way contributed to the rebellion. Many of the candidates have just come home from a four years' war against the Union.

THE QUESTION OF THE CANVASS.

In this county one man has been bold enough to come out on the platform of universal suffrage, and I hardly believe he will get a Southern man's vote. A very few men from the North, who have located here since the surrender, may vote for him, but in the community he excites either ridicule or scorn. The old banker, Alexander Arthur, of Vicksburg, has been brought out as the *Union* candidate. He is an old Whig, has represented the county several times in the Legislature before the war, and was opposed to secession; but, like everybody else here, succumbed to the popular voice and gave his adhesion to the war. He has remained at home, being too old to bear arms. He is a worthy citizen, and comes about as near being a Union man as any. But he is entirely too subservient to the government to suit the chivalry, and they have brought out as his opponent a man, who, as Captain, has served four years in the rebel army, and carries his parole; and there is every probability that he will be elected. It is urged against Mr. Arthur that in the time of his country's trial he remained quietly at home, and when the town was captured kept company with the Yankees, instead of going out from among them and joining his fortunes with his countrymen. This is the only objection of a personal nature brought against him, and with this young rebel captain, fresh from the fields of armed rebellion, and claiming nothing but his treason to recommend him to office, Mr. Arthur is about to be defeated.

In Hinds county, where Jackson, the capital, is located, there are about half a dozen candidates. These gentlemen have been called out in a card by the citizens to make known their views upon the questions likely to arise in the Convention. The card of these gentlemen says:

"It is a matter of deep concern to our people to know what course you will take if elected to the Convention, in the event the proposition for the abolition of slavery in the State shall come before that body. Will you favor such a proposition? Or will you hold up the broad shield of the Constitution to ward off this terrible infliction? Or, if this may not be, at least to record the well-known verdict in the minds of the people against it."

The candidates are responding to the call in lengthy addresses. One of them is in favor of "holding up the broad shield." He knows of no law by which such a Convention can be called, and no constitutional method by which they can be required to abolish slavery; and he is in favor of sticking to the institution as long as possible. He will oppose in Convention the acknowledgment of the abolition of slavery, and will strenuously object to any measures calculated to infringe upon their State rights or local institutions. But if, after being as obstinate as they can, and doing all that is possible to save the "domestic institution," he finds that the tyrannical government will not admit them into the Union without engrafting the abolition of slavery in the Constitution, then, like Captain Scott's coon, he will "come down." He thinks it best, *at the last extremity*, to submit to that which cannot be avoided, and bow to the despotism of the conquerer—anything to get back their rights as a *sovereign State*, when they hope to be able "to regulate their institutions in their own way," etc.

Another candidate meets the question much fairer. He tells the people that when Solon, the Athenian law-giver, was asked if his code of laws was the best he could devise, he answered no, but they were the best for the Athenians under the circumstances. So he thinks under the circumstances he had not better "hold up the broad shield." He argues that it is better to recognise the facts as they certainly exist, and engraft in the constitution the abolition of slavery and the principle that no State has a right to secede or nullify national laws, except by revolution; and not try to blind themselves to the results of the war, or attempt to hoodwink the national authorities by any deceptive legislation. The war has ended in their utter defeat. They are powerless to protect themselves against the acknowledged principles and ideas of the North. It is the determination of the North that slavery must be abolished; and if we refuse to do it in Convention, we will only entail upon ourselves untold trouble and fail in the accomplishment of our purpose. If we will not do it, the negro will be given, by national authority, the right of suffrage, and he will do it. We will lose our rights as citizens; we will keep off the restoration of civil authority and retain the odious domination of military power.

One of the old politicians of Madison county, on being called upon by his friends to become a candidate for the Convention, in declining, says he cannot be a candidate without taking the amnesty oath, and it a member of the Convention, and acting in consistency with his oath, he would be compelled to do that which would do violence to his political principles and his conscience.

A question is raised in one of the country papers whether a person who has taken the amnesty oath will be violating the spirit or letter of it in voting for a candidate known to be opposed to changing the Constitution so as to declare the abolition of slavery. But it is not probable that this question will trouble the consciences of many Mississippians. One of the most lamentable effects of rebellion is the exceedingly lax ideas which have grown up in the minds of the people on the moral obligations of an oath to the government. Men who have taken the old and new amnesty oaths, the ironclad oath, and all the other oaths that have ever been invented by the ingenuity of the most arbitrary military rulers in this State, are just as bitter and rebellious as ever before; and there is danger that much perjury may be enacted by members of the approaching Convention.

The people of Mississippi, thoroughly indoctrinated in the heresies of Calhoun and Davis, are ardent advocates of the doctrine of State rights, and are anxiously inquiring how this sacred principle is to be saved by the Convention. They are slow to learn the lessons of the war. The old Whigs were the men who opposed secession at the beginning; but you ask even one of them, once so ardent in their devotion to the Union, why, when the crisis which more than ever required their firmness came, they yielded, and gave a hearty support to the war, and their uniform answer is that their State decided to go out of the Union, and they must follow its fortunes and obey its voice. Now, that the supremacy of national allegiance is vindicated by the arbitrament of war, they yet cling with tenacity to this old heresy in politics, and are stubbornly bent on saving this principle if they can. But how they are to do this, and satisfy the administaation, is puzzling them.

The leaders here as yet fail to recognise the fact that it is the determination of the Administration to make all freemen amenable to the same laws. If there is not an open rupture between the general government and the Convention on the greater questions of the recognition of the abolition of slavery and the relations of national and State sovereignty, it will certainly come in these minor questions of legislation. There is too much of the spirit of the old master, of caste and domination, to do full justice to the negro. The legislator will not be able to see the necessity or wisdom of framing a uniform system of laws to punish vagrancy and crime, to regulate labor and business, and provide education and charities. The blind goddess of law will hardly be able to dispense justice even handed to all people and races within her borders. The people of Mississippi do not evince a very ready disposition to banish animosities of race, prejudice and revengeful feelings. One needs but to hear the candidates and public men talk to satisfy himself that we are not yet done with the black code. They are bent on making the negro the scape-goat to bear away the sins and the hate of secession.

MUM IS THE WORD.

The leaders in Mississippi are anxious that no one should question the fact that slavery is dead. The generals in orders have so declared it. The President, in his proclamations, has so announced it. The force of military law has made the argument cogent. They have given it out that it is not a debatable question. They desire that the question should not be agitated. The plot which they are concocting is worthy the palmiest days of Locofoco juggling. A prominent man declared to one of his friends, thought to be "all right," that it was proposed in the Convention not to touch the question of slavery at all—to pass it over in silence—as it was best not to have a controversy with the government. That all that was required of the Convention was to repeal the ordinance of secession, and do such acts as were necessary to get back into the Union, and put in operation the machinery of the State. That was the thing first to be assured; and that it would not do to quarrel with the general government before the people were restored to their rights as a sovereign State. The other questions of labor and political franchise were matters of State legislation. It was for the State to say whether a negro should vote, testify and sue in courts, be entitled to free locomotion, have no laws restraining him or regulating his labor, or under no dependence or control of his employer or master. It was not policy to talk about these things now. What we first and most want is to get back into the Union, get control of State affairs, and relieved from the bondage and administration of military despotism. These other little details of local legislation can be fixed up according to our own notion and at our leisure. There is abundant evidence, not only in the statements of this prominent citizen, but in the public press of the State and the government, and expressed wishes of the public men, that such is the programme marked out. I do not believe that it will receive the countenance of Gov. Sharkey, who is anxious to meet these questions as a wise man and a loyal citizen, legislating for the peace and general welfare of the people, not evading or shuffling off a recognition of the accomplished facts of the war. But Mississippi has very few such public men as Judge Sharkey; too few I fear to restore the State to its allegiance with a good grace. They are blind leaders of the blind. There is little danger that the administration or Congress will be hoodwinked by such specimens of legerdemain. The victory of freedom and national sovereignty will be made to yield more substantial fruit than that. W.

FREEDMEN AND REFUGEES.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS.

BRIG.-GEN. JOHN W. SPRAGUE, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Missouri and Arkansas, in a letter from St. Louis, July 17th, to the Freedmen's Bureau in Washington (says the Missouri *Democrat*), gives some graphic descriptions of the present condition of affairs in those two States. The following are a few extracts from his report:

THE FREEDMEN.

These people wherever protected so as to enable them to dispose of their labor and collect their wages, are exhibiting remarkable aptitude to support themselves and their families. They are somewhat bewildered by the sudden change from slavery to freedom, but very few indeed are willing to be paupers, and notwithstanding the constant teachings of slavery for generations, that they were not responsible for the support of aged parents or helpless children, their care and affection in these relations are marked characteristics, highly creditable to this poor and down-trodden race; but I regret to say that even now, in Missouri and Arkansas, wherever the power of our government is not felt through the military arm, the negroes are still held and treated as slaves, and it is from their former slaveowners, now violators of the laws, from whom the cry constantly comes that "the negro will not work; he will forsake the farm and flock about the cities and military posts." By their conduct and bearing the negro is frightened. He fears that in some way he will be cheated out of his liberty, and it is my firm conviction that it is the settled policy of a large majority of the former slaveowners to accomplish by State legislation and by covert violations of the law what they have failed to accomplish by rebellion. Men who profess to be honest and honorable cannot understand that there is a moral wrong in robbing or cheating a negro.

I can, perhaps, give a better idea of the demands for labor by an actual occurrence than in any other way. A few days before I left for Arkansas, Doctor McGavock called to see me. He owns three plantations in Arkansas, about fifty miles from Memphis; he was formerly a large slave owner, but has been and is a Union man; he treats his negroes as *free;* two of his plantations are now supplied with white laborers (Irish); on the other freedmen are employed; he is desirous of obtaining "freedmen" for all, and offered twenty dollars per month for men, and fifteen dollars per month for women, by the year.

I respectfully state, in my opinion the general welfare will be promoted, if it shall be the policy of the Government and this Bureau, to lease and sell lands in small quantities to all negroes who have proved or may prove themselves worthy. The experiments, so far as tried in the district, have been attended with the best results.

I desire to add that the most wonderful avidity is manifested by the colored children to learn, and their parents are anxious to support their own schools. I attended a colored church in Little Rock, Arkansas, where a colored minister preached and conducted the services. After they were closed, he announced that the congregation employed eight teachers, at twenty dollars per month.

I must express my regret that it was thought best to stop the issue of rations to teachers. Every good teacher is worth a score of rations to the government, as they, by their counsels and their labors, render efficient aid in preparing these people to become valuable members of the body politic, instead of being, as they have been, burdens.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

A MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN "UNIONBUND" OF NEW YORK.

Translated from the German for The Commonwealth.

THE reconstruction of the Union is the great problem of the present. On its solution depends whether the blessings of peace shall compensate the Nation for all the sacrifices made, or whether discord, or, perhaps, even bloody struggles, shall rage between the democratic republicanism of the North and the aristocracy of the South.

State-sovereignty and slavery have been the enemies of the Union. Our heroic armies have stricken them down. Shall now a blind policy uplift the prostrated foes and enable them to again assail the republic? Will the Nation, better informed than the fathers of the Constitution, allow that the germ of the old evil be preserved in the reconstructed Union? Shall the essence of State sovereignty and of slavery, in the disguise of State rights and *disfranchisement of the colored people*, be the basis of the new structure of the Union? That will be the case, if the people do not immediately and with firmness declare and enforce their will.

The "Unionbund" therefore deems it a duty to submit to the German-Americans its views and demands concerning the reconstruction.

The foundation of the Union was the work of a convention elected by all the free people, and—South Carolina and Georgia excepted—without distinction as to race. Now, scarcely has the enemy laid down his arms when the reconstruction of the Union is undertaken by the executive alone, and with a haste that does not admit a careful examination and consideration of the state of things.

Congress is not called together to cooperate in this important work, nor is time given to the Nation to express its will. The executive assailed (one might say *conquered*) by swarms of delegates from the Southern States, so suddenly converted to loyalty, is about to reconstruct the Union with the material of the rebellion.

Let the cunning aristocrats of the South be jubilant, let their Northern friends praise the wisdom of the President, let politicians try to evade this burning question,—the independent citizens tell the whole truth of their conviction to the public servant whom they have elected.

There is no space here for the examination of the question: "Has the executive the right to establish the system of reconstructing the rebellious States according to his own views and without the concurrence of Congress?" But it is evident, that in assuming such a power, the executive acts contrary to the spirit of our institutions. The necessities of the war claimed from the Nation many concessions to the executive; now that peace is restored, the people have the more firmly to oppose any extension of its sphere.

The convening of Congress for cooperation in the work of reconstruction seems to us to be a duty of the President, and undoubtedly it would have been an act of wise statesmanship. If slighted, Congress will act with a feeling of wounded pride and violated privilege. To the inevitable conflict of views there will be added the bitter conflict of passions. The immediate cooperation of Congress and the executive might have led to harmony of views and unity of action, whilst the self-willed proceedings of the President have already had fatal consequences. The leaders of the patriotic party have pronounced against the President's plan of reconstruction; the Union phalanx is threatened with disruption, and the enemies of the good cause prepare themselves to rush triumphantly through this breach.

Pregnant with disasters is the determination of the President of granting already now to the rebel States the right to reconstitute themselves. They will have the power to decide questions involving the welfare of the Union according to their interested views, and independently of the national government. The result of the immediate reorganisation of the South, by the South itself, will certainly be of such a nature that neither the Nation nor Congress can accept it. But what a series of difficulties and struggles will be the consequence of such a conflict.

Of so many ominous questions which may arise from a conflict between the Congress and the executive, let us mention but one: "What will be the state of the republic, if Congress persists in refusing admittance to the representatives chosen by the reorganised States, whilst the President sustains them as legally elected, and refuses to alter the state of things in the South?"

Not a hasty reorganisation, but a thorough preparation for a salutary reconstruction of the Union, is what is needed now for the conquered rebel States. A wise and energetic guardianship, to which the national government is entitled by the laws of war, is for a time the only *regime* applicable to the South. The strong hand of the national power alone can mould the rebel States into faithful members of the Union, and harmonise them with the free people of the North. Without the military protection of the Federal Government, the truly loyal citizens of the South will have no influence in the reconstruction of their States; nay, more,—under the system of reconstruction, initiated by the President, they will not have any more security of life than they had under the sway of Jefferson Davis. This has been said to the President by the Southern men whose loyalty has passed through the ordeal of persecution and exile.

If the Southern States are reconstructed on the President's plan, the colored population, to whose protection and liberation the Nation is in honor bound, will fall back under the exclusive rule of its enemies. But too many sad facts show already what then will be for the colored people the value of emancipation and the promise of equal rights! Has not reorganised Tennessee made of her colored people real serfs? Has not Holden, the reconstruction Governor of North Carolina, declared, "The white race is the ruling race, and has the right to remove the colored people from the State?" What is to be expected from Sharkey, the Governor of Mississippi,—from that man, who, as a judge, committed the infamy of sending back to slavery a colored woman with her child, the offspring of a repentant planter, who, by his last will had given them their liberty?

Even now, under the flag of the Union, the aristocrats of the South begin to exercise their old tyranny, because they see in the policy of the President the return of their power, restored by the immediate exercise of States rights. For that reason the rebels, following the advice of Reverdy Johnson, hasten to take the oath of allegiance. These metamorphosed rebels calculate already with their friends at the North the time when they will again have the majority in Congress, and the power in the White House,—even more, they dare openly propose a bargain, involving political treason, to the successor of the martyr of the Union and of emancipation.

The President's policy of reconstruction is the beginning of reaction; its consequences will be fatal, though he be animated with the best intentions, and is, as many of his defenders say, making now only an experiment of one system, and is ready to be corrected by the course of events.

The President and the true friends of the republic will perhaps in future struggle in vain against the accomplished facts. What the Nation wants is not a double-faced trial, but a clear, firm system, answering to the feelings and the convictions to which the free people of the North have been elevated by the great events of the last four years. In the loyal States, the liberal citizens are already laboring to lay the foundation of equal rights for the reconstruction of the Union. It is the duty of the Federal government to do the same in the South before the conquered rebel States can exercise again their rights as members of the Union.

The rebellion of the South, made by the States, and all their constituted authorities, has, as far as the Union is concerned, abrogated all previously-existing constitutions and laws of those States. In reconstructing the Union, the national government has therefore to deal only with their populations. To give them a republican government is the right and the duty of the Federal power. But this right embraces *everything* or *nothing*.

If the President thinks that he has the right to appoint Governors to the conquered rebel States, he has also the right to call on their whole loyal population for the establishment of a republican government. Still more; a truly republican government can only be established by the *whole* loyal population, and not by classes arbitrarily selected. The proclamation of emancipation has made free citizens, endowed with equal rights, of all the inhabitants of the South. The President cannot be permitted again to erect, with the help of the abolished slave laws, the barriers formerly existing between the white and colored population. It is the duty of the President to defend as faithfully the rights of the colored people as those of the poor whites of the South, of whom he considered himself the special representative. And never more than in the present emergency will full justice also be sound statesmanship. The exclusion of the colored population of the South from the work of reconstruction would be a source of infinite evil, as has been the toleration of slavery by the Constitution.

Under the guardianship of the Federal government, exercised over the conquered States, the emancipated people of the South have to be transformed into citizens, made free and independent by labor and property, and capable of exercising their civic rights, in order that they may cooperate with their loyal white fellow-citizens in the great work of reconstructing the Union, when the time shall come.

But the President has declared that there is no necessity of reconstruction, that the Southern States possess to-day all the rights—that of slavery excepted—which they had before the rebellion. Is this not surrendering the victory of the national sovereignty, obtained by the sacrifice of the lives of so many patriots? Is it not necessary that the supremacy of the national sovereignty should be recognised and *felt*, for a certain time, by the South, in order that they may learn that State sovereignty is really dead? Will not the truculent and obstinate aristocracy of the South find, in the declaration of the President, a reason for considering these States rights essentially the same thing—what they called State sovereignty before their defeat? Should any one be credulous or simple-minded enough to feel assured, by the hypocritical promises now made by the Southern crowd streaming into the White House, let him remember what has been said of the Bourbons—"They learned nothing and forgot nothing!"

To destroy forever the spirit of rebellion it is necessary that the words of the President should become a fact,—"Crime must meet with its punishment!" It is, therefore, to be regretted that, before even one single act of justice has branded treason and rebellion, the pardoning power of the President should be exercised with a daily increasing rapidity, and in so many cases bestowing its benefits on persons guilty of infamous crimes. It is surprising that the people begin to doubt the realization of the declaration made by the President?

These numerous pardons, the constitutionality of which is doubted by many, will soon have exhausted the list of exceptions made by the President himself. The Union will lose thereby the legal means of destroying forever the real power of the criminal aristocracy of the South. Those enemies of a Union and of a truly democratic society must be sentenced as guilty of high treason; their property must be seized in order to pay the expenses of the war which they have originated. Thus only can the victory of the Northern society of free labor over the landed monopoly of the Southern aristocracy be secured, and become a source of blessings to the republic.

The emancipation and the granting of equal political rights to the colored people are not sufficient to accomplish the work of reconstruction. The landless inhabitants of the South—the whites as well as the blacks—must obtain possession, by purchase or donation, of the confiscated estates of the aristocracy, in order that they become really independent citizens of the regenerated republic.

The treasonable undertakings of the Southern aristocracy have inaugurated not only a political, but also a social revolution. The victorious arms of the Union have given the Federal government the right to close this revolution in a manner which insures the welfare of the republic. But if this is not done now, the bloody war for the preservation of the national unity may be followed by the more terrible and dangerous war of the oppressed against their oppressors, which in this case will be the war of one race against the other.

The people must, therefore, as in ancient Rome, tell the government,—"Take care that the republic be not endangered!" The "Unionbund" appeals to all liberal German-Americans to join its ranks, in order to labor together with the American-born citizens of the same conviction for the realization of the principles of our great revolution.

The "Unionbund" remains faithful to the banner of freedom and justice, borne in the new campaign by the patriots, Sherman, Sumner, Ashley, Chase, Winter Davis, Butler, Pomeroy, Wilson, and others.

On behalf of the "Unionbund," the General Committee,

Dr. FREDERICK SCHUETZ, President.
Dr. H. GULECKE, Recording Secretary.
NEW YORK, July 15, 1865.

A NEGRO WEDDING.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

HILTON HEAD, S. C., July 15.

SOME of our party, who remained last night at Beaufort, have been giving amusing accounts of a negro wedding. It seems that the good Superintendent's remark—if he had only known we were coming he would have had two or three weddings for us—was no idle boast. Scarcely a Sunday passes without a marriage, and the young volunteers, who imagine their monthly pay a pretty good "start" for a family, are especially given to matrimonial ventures.

Many of the Sea Islanders, while in slavery, came well up to the description of Brigham Young, whom Artemus Ward pronounced "the most married man" he ever saw. But polygamy is a practice not permitted by the beneficent government to the poor negroes now—only white people, and they in distant localities, can be indulged in so dangerous a luxury—and herewith arises one of Gen. Saxton's chief embarrasments. It would often happen that in the course of being transferred from one plantation to another a negro would have successively three or four, or even half a dozen wives. Now that he is restricted to one, which should it be? Moralists and theorists would answer "the first." Gen. Saxton, with the instict of a sound political economist, says "the one that has the most children." As for the rest they must hunt up other husbands.

The negroes really seem to appreciate the dignity and solemnity of the marriage institution; and they have a great anxiety to enter its bonds fashionably. At the Beaufort wedding, last night, the bride wore a calico dress, whose colors were as glowing as her own was swarthy; her hands were covered with white cotton gloves; and as for her head, neck, and shoulders, a true history will be forever at a loss to tell how they *were* clad, for over her head was cast in flowing folds of portentous thickness a gauzy sheet, supposed to represent a white veil. It shrouded the features in unnatural pallor; it suggested no hint of neck, and but the remotest suspicion of shoulders; and it was only gathered into terminal folds somewhere in the region of what should have been the waist.

From beneath this effectual concealment, the bride made haste to give her responses. The poor girl had been cheated out of her marriage a week before, by some unexpected order to the regiment which claimed the services of her soldier-intended; and she was determined to have "de ting trou with dis time." When the minister asked if *he* would have this woman to be his wife, *she* hastily exclaimed: "Oh yes, massa, I'll be his wife;" and when the irrevocable words were said, the huge veil disappeared with wondrous rapidity before the ardor of the kiss. But they got, on their marriage certificate, the signatures of a couple of witnesses which the highest born in the land would be proud to possess.

ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS.—John W. Forney (Secretary of the U. S. Senate) states that "it is only a waste of time in the South to elect doubtful or treasonable men to the next Congress, since if Mr. McPherson, the Clerk of the House, were to put their names on the roll—which he never dreamed of doing—the House would at once repel the attempt." Good so far; but will the Clerk (asks the Vt. *Watchman and Journal*) enter upon the roll even well-known loyal men, who claim seats from States which have not been recognised as such, under their new Constitutions by Congress? For instance, our excellent friend Maynard of Tenn., on whom there was never the stain of treason? The clerk is required by law "to make out a roll of the members elected, and place thereon the names of all persons and of such persons only, whose credentials show that they were regularly elected in accordance with *the laws of their States respectively, or the laws of the United States.*" Will he determine that Tennessee is a "State" within the meaning of this act, before its new Constitution has been communicated to Congress, or will he not rather submit the credentials to the House without enrolling the members, leaving *it* to decide upon the question of admission? We think he will assume no doubtful power, but enroll the members of unquestioned States and leave the rest to the House.

THE RICHMOND ELECTION.

Correspondence of the Philadelphia Inquirer.

RICHMOND, July 29—5 a.m.

YESTERDAY afternoon a bomb-shell exploded among the politicians, in the shape of the order of Gen. Turner, declaring null and void the late city election.

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon the lately elected incumbents of the city offices had assembled at City Hall, pursuant to a notice that the civil government would be then and there inaugurated. There are fifty-one offices, and fifty-one gentlemen were present ready to step into them. On so interesting and important an occasion in their lives not one of them could be expected to be absent.

Just as the doors were opened, and the crowd of would-be officials began entering the room,

A SENSATION AMONG THE MAGNATES

was created by the appearance in their midst of an American Captain. This gentleman, Capt. Hagar, 14th United States Infantry, was unattended, and in an unostentatious manner proceeded to elect himself President of the meeting. Ascending the rostrum, he drew a paper from his pocket and began reading, but had got no further than "Headquarters, District of Henrico," before there was a visible shudder in his congregation. Placidly, however, he read the paper, which was an order from Gen. Turner, directing them to prevent certain persons styling themselves civil officers of Richmond, from attempting to assume the said offices, as they would not be permitted to exercise the functions thereof. The Order 72 was not read, but its purport was explained to those present. The Captain remarked that it would be useless for them to be sworn into office, and withdrew.

Then the meeting organized by electing a chairman, and Mr. David J. Saunders, a Councilman elect, remarked that he did not understand this thing at all. The election had been legally held in accordance with a proclamation from the Governor, and he could see no right anywhere to prevent the officers elect from qualifying. On his motion, it was resolved that the thing should be looked into, and therefore a committee was appointed to wait on the Governor and talk about it, and report to the meeting at five o'clock this afternoon, to which hour it adjourned. This done the assemblage dispersed, sadder and wiser men than when they came together, for they had learned that a king reigns in Egypt who knows not Joseph.

This action of the authorities has, of course, created a great sensation. The Union men—men who love the Union more than they sigh for the departed glories of the Confederacy—are jubilant. The Secessionists appear dumbfounded. Said one venerable gentleman: "I've lived in Richmond sixty years, and never heard of such a thing before." Said numerous other men, "This is the work of the republic, and we'll suppress it." Said one impotent savage, "It's about time we begun to kill off these —— Yankees." Not one single man in all these idiotic masses of secessionists seems to have the slightest knowledge of the fact that the United States has been the victor in the late contest, and that they are a subjugated race, with no rights whatever but such as the clemency of the conqueror accords them.

Virginia must be hauled up close. Gov. Peirpont must cease governing the State in the interest of the rebels or he must abdicate his functions. The editors who drove this State into revolt, and who are again insidiously at their old work, must be silenced, and if nothing short of hanging will effectually stop their talk about the "chivalry" and "rights" of the South, hung they must be. Every one of the old leaders in the revolt must be driven by the bayonet out of public life and kept out. "The unthinking young men of no sense or experience," as Sherman aptly calls them, must be made penitentiary convicts, if they will behave themselves in no other capacity. All this must be done before Virginia can be considered loyal.

This is apparently harsh language, but the events of the last few days justify it. A few days more of such progression as we have had and no Yankee's life would have been safe a mile from our camps. The hardship of the case is that there are thousands of good, true men, who will share in the general rule that Virginia seems to have chosen for her portion, but when did not the innocent suffer with the guilty?

Virginia seems descending to the condition of a military satrapy, and has no one to thank for it but herself.

HOW THEY TALK.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

THE Mobile *Register and Advertiser*, of the 22d ult., in treating of reconstruction, says:

"The sooner all this grave work is completed the better, provided it be well and wisely done. We hope to see it finished, so that by the first Monday of December, the Senators and Representatives from Alabama may present their credentials to the Congress of the United States, and be there cordially welcomed by the sitting members in that body. And so they will be by all who have supported the late war upon its ostensible ground, to wit: that it was a war for the *preservation of the Union*—a war to maintain the integrity of a great empire. Any man or party in Congress that throws obstacles in the way of the earliest return of the delegates from the South to seats in the General Council Chamber of the Nation, at once ignores this Union theory and proclaims the falsity and insincerity of his adherence to and adoption of the war policy and principles declared by the United States Government to the whole world. The arrival of the Southern delegation at Washington will apply a test to the Unionism of the members of Congress, and will show who made war from motives of passion and revenge, and who from a patriotic devotion to the Union. It will be a severe test, but a wholesome and instructive one."

It will be seen that, according to this organ of Southern sentiment, the emancipation proclamation and emancipation are to be entirely ignored. We shall see. There are evidently two parties springing up in the late rebel States, one of which agrees that slavery is dead and cannot be restored, and the other contending for the restoration of the Union as it was. As the rebels have been conquered and can do no better, they step down upon the Copperhead platform and hope to carry it.

CANDIDATE COX OF OHIO.—Commenting on the letter of Gen. Cox the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* says: Gen. Cox of Ohio, Republican candidate for Governor, having been publicly questioned in regard to his views of reconstruction, negro suffrage, etc., publishes a long and carefully prepared reply, in which he gives his views very explicitly with the arguments by which they are supported. It is pretty generally known that while Western men are now (most of them,) quite as emphatic against slavery as the extremest abolitionists, they are not as much advanced on other questions pertaining to the colored race. Some of the Western States, a few years since, gained considerable notoriety by the barbarity of their "black laws." It is true that great changes have taken place, since that time; but colored men are not yet allowed to vote, in the Western States.

As the views of Gen. Cox resemble those of many other Western Republicans, they are sure to be interesting to all our friends here.

In our view, no policy would prove either so just, so wholesome, or so successful, as to recognise the equality of all men in the matter of political rights and privileges, and make all equal before the law. Let traitors who have outlawed themselves and forfeited their lives, by their crimes against the country, be held to the consequences of their conduct. The safety of the Nation requires their exclusion from political power in the South; but, let all loyal men have the rights of good citizens, without regard to origin, race, or color. Time and experience will convince all loyal and true men that no other policy is so wise and good as this. Therefore, let us not hurry the important matter of reconstruction.

BAD OMENS.

The Baltimore Correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth* thus writes, under date August 5: "Signs of reaction upon negro suffrage are springing up in Baltimore since the new federal officiary has gone into office. Tickets at four of the ward primary meetings, this week, were headed 'Anti-negro suffrage.' William Thompson, *protege* of Gov. Swan, has been nominated for sheriff by the reactionists, and Samuel M. Evans, whom the President refused to make naval officer of the port, has been put up by the same party as clerk of one of our Courts. The primary meetings were mere shams. Gen. Andrew Dennison, who lost his arm on the Rapidan, and was wounded a second time in the final battles before Richmond, a thoroughly radical Unionist, will probably run independently for sheriff. If he does, he will beat Thompson two to one.

"The registration of white voters in our State has begun. A convention of the registers, in this city, resolved to admit no white man as a qualified voter *who has a general character as a sympathiser with the rebellion.* If this rule be adhered to, fully one half the white voters will be disfranchised. But it will not be adhered to. It is an impossibility. When the time for voting comes, the barrier will be thrown down, especially in the disloyal counties. Does any sane man suppose that the voting whites of St. Mary's county, numbering some 1,500, will permit themselves to be cut down to 99, the total vote thrown for the new Constitution? This attempt to exclude white sympathisers with the rebellion from the polls must produce a convulsion. Perhaps that is necessary before the 40,000 loyal blacks will be called on to protect the loyal ballot-box."

A DOMINANT FACT IN THE SOUTHERN SITUATION.

WE know of nothing in connection with the new condition of the South so significant as the desire of the freedmen to learn to read and write, and the quickness with which they obtain this power. There can be no mistake about this, for it is the universal testimony of all the teachers sent out by the Freedmen's Association, and is abundantly confirmed by the reports of our military officers. It is a tremendous fact. If it continues unchanged, one of two things is inevitable: either the poor white masses must acquire new impulses and aims, or the black races must become the controlling power of the South. We may shrink from this alternative, but there is no quarrelling with it; it is as inexorable as fate.

The majority of the poor whites of the South cannot read or write, and have no wish to learn. They are utterly without ambition, utterly without the disposition to make any effort to secure a better lot for themselves and their children. They have been content, for generations to remain ignorant. They do not even understand that ignorance is a misfortune. We have not yet heard of the first indication of a feeling among them that they ought to have instruction which would prepare them for the new situation brought on by the extinction of slavery. We have watched in vain for the faintest breath of an aspiration among them to get the benefit, in the reconstruction of the Slave States, of a public system of instruction like that in the North. They seem, since the rebellion, to have relapsed into greater indifference than ever.

It seems singular that there should be such a difference between the liberated blacks and the poor whites in respect to their qualifications to qualify themselves for the new situation. One would naturally say that slavery would have so stupefied and brutefied the blacks that they would be absolutely unable to appreciate the advantages of education, and would be perfectly satisfied with a freedom that would give them plenty to eat and little to do. The poor whites, on the other hand, we should suppose, would quickly understand that nothing but their own mental elevation can keep them above the blacks, now that slavery no longer exists to press the blacks under. The sudden gain of freedom has given the black men a stimulus unfelt by the poor white man of the South, though he has always possessed freedom. The truth is that it is not literally correct to say that Southern slavery has been an unmitigated evil to the black man. With all of its oppression, it has yet imposed upon him habits of industry, and has preserved him from the worst vice of the white race—intemperance. His very sufferings have tended to make his heart peculiarly susceptible to religious sentiment, and to enliven all the higher elements of his being with the hope and faith of final deliverance. Religious hope and faith are always elevating forces, under whatever condition of things, however adverse—even slavery itself. No man will deny that the present generation of Southern blacks are far superior, mentally and morally, to their ancestors who were brought from Africa three or four generations ago. In spite of the fact that their bondage was constantly growing more severe there was a constantly increasing intelligence, mental and moral. No restrictions could prevent this. It went on at the time when the poor whites were remaining stationary, or were positively degenerating. And now, when slavery is forever lifted from them, we find that they have an eagerness to advance, while no disposition of the kind is shown by the ignorant white class around them.

A Southern letter makes mention of the circumstance that "a few days since, of 170 white men laboring on public works, but three could sign their names, while of 140 blacks, laboring at the same time and place, 92 could sign their names." Can any sane man believe that any such ratio could become a general fact throughout the South, without its resulting in a positive ascendancy of the blacks? Knowledge is power. Intelligence will always rule in human society. No difference of race or color can prevent the operation of this social law. Nor can any constitutional regulation, or legislative enactment change the ultimate result. The blacks may for a time be kept out of the suffrage, but just as sure as they get the superior intelligence, just so sure must the suffrage, and every other political power, come into their hands.—*N. Y. Times.*

AN HONEST EXPRESSION OF OPINION.—Col. Donn Piatt, who has been nominated for State Representative from Logan county, Ohio, unlike his leader on the ticket for Governor, Gen. Cox, has come out (says the *Commonwealth*) squarely and in manfashion, in an address to the Union voters, in favor of suffrage to the loyal, of whatever color, in the reorganised States. Among other good points in his address are these:

"If we exclude the loyal men of the South, on account of color, we give the revolted States to the disloyal, on the easy terms of an oath—an oath in the mouths of men whose hands are now red with the blood of our prisoners, and whose past is marked with robbery, perjury and murder.

"Let us be as brave in the political arena as we have been in the field, and not hesitate to protect the man by whose side we are willing to fight—especially as by so doing we protect ourselves."

ONE THING OR ANOTHER.—What alarms us for our country is the manifest disregard of justice as our rule of action. It is the unwillingness to admit impartial suffrage, that has brought us into the dilemmas and inconsistencies in which we are now floundering. We will not admit our obligation to give to each State "a republican form of government." We are determined to govern the South through a white oligarchy. But God has made the thing impossible. We cannot make a white oligarchy do our bidding. We cannot convert rampant rebels into loyal subjects. We may sacrifice the colored race again and again; we may force them back to their masters' plantations at the point of the bayonet; we may remand them to a serfdom more grievous than their original bondage; all this we may do to please and coax the Southern chivalry into good feeling, but it will be in vain. Robbers and extortioners are not to be converted by pandering to their vices. Throughout this struggle we have succeeded just in proportion as we have kept unsheathed the bright sword of justice: we have failed just in proportion as we have concealed it. President Johnson will be constrained to nul-

lify every one of the new governments he is forming in the seceded States, or they will nullify him and nullify the party that supports him. We await with intense anxiety the meeting of Congress; on them will depend our rescue from this labyrinth of difficulties. The war being over, the whole business of government and reconstruction reverts back from the executive to the legislative department, and we trust the first step will be to annul the reorganisations that have been effected on a white basis, and inaugurate others founded on the immutable principles of the Declaration of Independence.—*American Baptist.*

THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY AND THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

FROM A SPEECH BY JOHN STUART MILL, DELIVERED AT ST. MARTINS' HALL, WEDNESDAY, JULY 10, 1865.

This sympathy of the rich for the rich had manifested itself in a very decided way during the last two or three years, by the extraordinary good wishes of the higher classes of this country for the success of the American slaveholders. He did not make this a matter of reproach against the rich and higher classes of this country; for he was quite ready to let by-gones be by-gones; but they were not at liberty to renounce the privilege, nay, the duty of drawing lessons from the very tinge before their eyes—(hear, hear)—and he should like to make a few remarks upon the cause and meaning of the sympathy of the rich for these slaveholders. It was not that they loved slavery; he acquitted them of that. (Hear, hear.) But he could not acquit them of not having realized to their own minds, by experience or reflection, what a dreadful thing slavery really was, and what were the results it produced and gave rise to. It gave a power—whether those who had it used it or not—of torturing human beings to death at their caprice. (Hear, hear.) The government which the slaveholders intended to establish had fortunately been frustrated, or there would have been a kind of reign of evil on the earth. It was this which had given rise to the bowie-knife and the revolver, not the pure government of democracy. (Hear, hear.) Our privileged classes did not consider this, or he believed that they would have acted in a different manner from that which they did. They merely saw one thing—a privileged class opposed by those who they thought wanted to take the privilege away; and when they saw that, they said, "These (the Southerners) must be the gentlemen with whom gentlemen ought to sympathise." He believed that to be exaggerated. (Hear, hear.) The man who nearly murdered Mr. Sumner on the floor of the House of Congress—was that man a gentleman? And the wives and daughters of slave holders, who raised subscriptions to mark their approval of his conduct—they were gentlewomen! but the refined and polished, the highly intellectual society of Massachusetts, the poets, orators, philosophers, the popular preachers, the brightest and best, those who took the lead against those enormities—men such as Channing, Emerson, Theodore Parker, Lowell, Bancroft, Motley, etc.—these were not gentlemen, they were low radicals and vulgar demagogues! (Cheers.) So blind were these people—these privileged ones—on our side of the water, that they did not know or care that the people whom they were thus attacking were those known to all Americans as lovers of England, lovers of English literature, sympathisers with the English people, admirers of us, and tolerant of much that was bad in our institutions. He did not make this a matter of reproach to any one, because when so many joined in it, it would not be right to apportion a share. Many who were well worthy of their respect had yielded to this general perversion of sentiment; and the moral he drew from it was this, that they had here one of the most signal instances; and so recent that it could not be objected to as belonging to olden times, of how far men could be carried away by their bias, unconscious and unintentional bias, he was persuaded, but still one that made the rich sympathise with the rich, the privileged with the privileged; and the practical lesson which he deduced from it was this, that it was a very just and proper thing that there should be rich men in parliament for the purpose of watching over the interests of the rich, but also, if they wanted a similar care to be taken of the poor, they had better not shut the door of the House of Commons upon the poor man.

FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

[illegible] LEADERS FEASTING THE REBEL SOLDIERS. PATRIOTIC CEREMONIAL—INAUGURATION OF A BUST—ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND JOHN C. CALHOUN—THE POLITICAL ASPECT—GOV. HOLDEN'S PROGRAMME—WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

From Special Correspondent of Tribune.

Raleigh, N. C., Saturday, Aug. 5, 1865.

The wealthy leaders of the late rebellion, who expect to control the coming State Convention, and the political affairs of North Carolina, have, for the past five weeks, been giving public dinners in many of the counties of this State, to the returned members of the late rebel armies.

Committees were appointed, funds raised, and a day designated for a like display of hospitality at the county seat of this county. As this looked like a public exhibition of approbation to rebel soldiers, for their attempt to overthrow the government, it was suppressed by Major-Gen. Ruger.

Raleigh will hereafter be entitled to the honor of having set up and inaugurated the first permanent memorial of the martyr President in the South.

On Thursday, the 3d inst., a copy of Jones's celebrated bust of Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated with solemn ceremonies by the loyal freedmen and women of this place, at the African M. E. Church. The bust stands upon a pedestal in rear of and above the pulpit, against a beautiful ground-work of black drapery, surmounted by a large rosette of red, white and blue. Above the head, and occupying a space of about eleven and a half feet by three, are inscribed the impressive words contained in the last paragraph of Mr. Lincoln's inaugural:

"With malice toward none, with *charity for all*, with firmness in the right, as *God gives us to see the right*, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to *bind up the Nation's wounds*, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his *widow* and *orphans*—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting Peace, among ourselves, and with all Nations."

The words emphasized are painted in conspicuous letters.

There was a large concourse of the colored citizens of the place, male and female, together with the colored schools present under the charge of Mr. H. Leland, with their teachers. Your correspondent delivered the dedicatory address, Elders Geo. W. Brody and Alexander Bass also officiating. The statue remained covered from view until that part of the opening address which called upon the freedmen to "arise and look upon the earthly form of Abraham Lincoln, the Martyr President, their great Emancipator," when the whole audience rose to their feet, the statue being unvailed. For an instant they stood in silent and rapt admiration at the beautiful and artistic representation of their great friend, when Mr. Brody gave out the hymn,

"From all that dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator's praise arise," etc.,

which was sung to the tune of "Old Hundred." At the conclusion of the address, which occupied about half an hour, the minister made appropriate remarks, referring in most touching and affectionate terms to the great and good man who had literally laid down his life for them. Many of the audience were in tears. No mention whatever was made of the event by either of the newspapers of Raleigh!!

The marble bust of John C. Calhoun still occupies an honored place in the State Capitol.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

Considerable excitement and some indignation were caused here by the appearance of the Associated Press report in all the Norfolk papers of the 1st of August, referring, among other things, to what is called the "reckless use of the pardoning power in North Carolina," the probable assumption of rebel debts, the prospective obnoxious character of the new Constitution, the declaration of William A. Graham against returning to the Union with negro suffrage as a condition, instructions to delegates to the convention to advocate the apprenticeship system for the freedmen or their re-enslavement—and other matters.

There is much more truth than *otherwise* in the report; though the effect of the statements is to create a wrong impression as to the opposition existing here to Gov. Holden's policy, and as to the existence of an *organization* to oppose it. There is not a man who advocates the confiscation of rebel property; there is not a man who dares to advocate the extension of suffrage to the loyal blacks, though *one man*, formerly holding office under Gov. Vance, is said to be in favor of it.

Mr. Pennington, editor of the *Progress*, who is stumping the county as a candidate for the Convention, denounces as a "scoundrel" any one who says he is in favor of negro suffrage.

Here are Gov. Holden's own "landmarks" for Union men, cut from the *Standard* of July 31. Among other things, one of which is "the prompt insertion in the State Constitution by the approaching Convention of the Ordinance of '87, forever abolishing slavery or involuntary servitude in the State!"

5. The right of States to determine the questions of suffrage for *themselves*.
6. *Unqualified opposition to what is called negro suffrage.*

This is Gov. Holden's *own programme*, written, I am informed, by himself.

The alleged statement of William A. Graham, that he will oppose the return of North Carolina to the Union on a basis of negro suffrage, scarcely needs to be contradicted, as that seems to be the political creed of Gov. Holden and all the white Union men of North Carolina. He has not been pardoned. He (Graham) is characteristically cautious and reticent.

There is nothing "unexpected" or "vindictive," though there may be something of "arrogance" in all this. It has been the settled and fixed political creed of all leading politicians in the State from the beginning. And there is no "alarm" on account of the exhibition of "disloyalty," or on account of "misplaced leniency" or the "reckless use of the pardoning power." Nothing of the sort. The feeling, except in a few cases is one of indifference. They regard themselves as so many passengers in the same craft, drifting in the fog, among dubious shoals, and are content to let the officers and crew having present charge, navigate, pump and work the ship, until they happily, may reach some port—then there will be a real fight to see who shall have command for the next voyage.

Pardon Gov. Vance, and let him take the stump for Governor, and I will agree to go three months to the Dry Tortugas, if he does not sweep the State by an overwhelming majority.

AID AND COMFORT TO REBELS.

The electioneering Letter of Gen. Cox in Ohio gives great aid and comfort to hardened and defiant rebels everywhere. Now that they cannot compel labor with the lash, they wish to see exterminated or colonized the race on which they have heaped centuries of wrong. They believe with Gen. Cox in the irrepressible conflict between the *free* negro and the white man, and are glad to have so respectable authority for a crusade against them. Every man of sense, however, who does not desire to see the wolf return to howl over the plantations of the South, scouts as absurd and impracticable such remedies for the great social problem. It would take fifty years for even North Carolina to replace by immigration her present laboring population, to say nothing of the more populous States of the South. What, meantime, would become of the landed wealth and the *white* population? The one would perish of starvation, and the other would pass into the hands of strangers.

MASTERS AND SLAVES.

There is no necessary mutual antagonism between the two races. As to what is called colorphobia, such as gave birth to the black laws which once disgraced the statute books of Ohio, it does not exist in the South. Almost universal miscegenation has prevailed under slavery, and one-half the old slave-masters and their grown-up sons need not go off their own plantations to see their image and superscription toddling around in the form of light-colored Americans of African descent. The best blood of North Carolina, as well as of Virginia, has coursed through the veins of slaves. The editors of the pro-slavery *Record* here, who abused our Northern teachers for coming down to North Carolina to instruct the freedmen, were effectually shut up by a home thrust from the *Progress*, who told them of the *black* ingratitude of complaining that we were schooling their own children.

Their confidence in Northern men who give evidence of being their real friends by a recognition of their manhood is unbounded, as well as their gratitude for the smallest demonstrations of good-will. I know also, of scores of instances where the kindliest relations already subsist between the freedmen and their late masters, and among some families of whites and colored who have grown up together, there is the intimacy and friendship which exist among blood relations. To sever, by any sudden disruption, such ties, and send away by a violent exodus these people from their old homes would cause a weeping and great mourning, such as was heard in ancient Rama when Rachel wept for her children, and would not be comforted because they were not.

Negro-traders—those who have violently broken up families, and such as have been habitually base and cruel (which are only a small part of the late slave-owners)—are the only ones who have the unconquerable aversion Gen. Cox speaks of toward the black race. Whom we wrong and abuse we hate. Every year will carry the memory of these injustices into oblivion. The colored people hold no grudges. Their gratitude for freedom has filled their hearts with forgiveness and good-will toward all. Only let the late masters meet this uprising sentiment of confidence and gratitude by a tithe of justice and fair treatment, and by the enactment of laws for their equal protection with the whites and the whole difficulty will be solved in a day.

TWO HUNDRED HANDS TO BE EMPLOYED.

Dr. Garratt of Edgecomb County, who was a large planter and slave-owner, is now arranging with Col. Whittlesey, for the employment of 200 hands to work his plantation for the year and a half to come. A contract setting forth the hours of labor each day; the amount of rations to each adult man and woman, with farm vegetables *ad libitum*; the usual quarters, and the price per month for male and female, old and young, is signed by both parties. The wages range from $7 to $10 per month. He takes whole families, and allows even children a stipend for what they are able to do in picking cotton or other labor.

The Doctor will keep a supply of such articles as the people require in his place, and personally attend to them in sickness. Col. Whittlesey was so favorably impressed with the fairness of the Doctor's offer, and wishing to encourage all such efforts to solve, in good faith, the problem of free labor, he appointed him a citizen agent of the Freedmen's Bureau for three counties, and is trying hard to procure the required number of laborers for his plantations.

The results of this experiment will be watched with much interest. E. S.

OUTRAGES ON FREEDMEN IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Washington, Aug. 13, 1865.

From reports received at the Freedmen's Bureau it appears that a number of outrages have been perpetrated in Western South Carolina by the planters on their colored employés. A certain Union officer, commandant of a military post, having sanctioned a number of contracts authorizing the corporeal punishment of their former slaves, a freedman was recently shot by his employer because he desired to consult with our military authorities regarding his contract. Another, almost white, was violently assaulted by a hotel clerk for presuming to request that his carpet bag be cared for until the next day, and another, a colored woman, was tied up and mercilessly beaten by her employer. Upon receipt of this information Gen. C. H. Van Wyck, commanding the Military District of South Carolina, at once issued a general order, in which he administered a severe rebuke to the culpable officer and warned all others that similar offenses would be summarily punished. In the course of his order Gen. Van Wyck says:

"The fatal and bloody delusion of Secession taught from your earliest infancy, and slavery with which you have been reared from your cradle, have, in consequence of your own acts, been forever destroyed; they are dead with no more hope of resurrection than a separate Confederacy buried beneath the best blood of the Republic, and amid the grave of hundreds of thousands whom the Nation will mourn for years. Accept now the fruits of rebellion, bitter though they be, and carry out the terms of your surrender and allegiance like chivalric men."

KENTUCKY ELECTION.

We believe the Representatives in Congress elect from this State are as follows:

Dist.		Maj.
I.	*L. S. Trimble* over C. D. Bradley	3,000
II.	*George H. Yeaman, over B. C. Ritter	800
III.	**Henry Grider*, over J. H. Lowrey	2,500
IV.	**Aaron Harding*, over Marion C. Taylor	3,500
V.	Lovell H. Rosseau, over *Robt. Mallory	1,500
VI.	*Green Clay Smith, over A. H. Ward	800
VII.	*George S. Shanklin*, over Speed S. Fry	3,000
VIII.	*William H. Randall, over T. T. Garrard	4,000
IX.	Samuel McKee, over J. Smith Hurtt	1,000

*Members of the last House. Anti-Slavery and pro-Amendment in small capitals. Democrats and Conservatives in *Italics*.

Grider, Harding, Mallory, and some others, now called "Democrats," were Whigs of old.

The Southern, Western and most of the Central Counties have gone pro-slavery. We presume the Senate is pro-slavery, because of the Senators who hold over; but we hope for an anti-slavery majority in the house. A. U. S. Senator is to be chosen in place of Garret Davis, pro-slavery.

A resolute attempt was made to enforce the State law which divests those who have aided the late rebellion of the right of suffrage; but though mildly supported by Gov. Bramlette and decidedly by Gen. Palmer, military commandant of the district, it proved an emphatic failure. The rebels *would* vote, so they did. Thus the 1st District (formerly Linn Boyd's) which elected in '61 Henry C. Burnett to our Congress, though he took his seat in that of Jeff. Davis, though it has twice since chosen Unionists, because the rebels didn't vote, now goes against us overwhelmingly, by the votes of men who shouted over their victory at Bull run and hoped for the "liberation" of Kentucky by Bragg's army in '62. They now take the oath and vote, on the basis of the Hon. Reverdy Johnson's opinion in the Maryland case. Thus the *Commonwealth* (Frankfort) says of the election in that (Franklin) county:

"The entire Conservative ticket in this county is triumphant. The Union candidates did well; but the influence brought to bear against them was too strong to be resisted successfully. Mr. Gray, the Union candidate for the Legislature, was opposed by almost the entire bar of Frankfort, and money was spent lavishingly to procure his defeat. Bribes were offered openly, and by men of place and power. The oath was entirely disregarded—that is, its binding power. Almost the full rebel strength of the county was polled, the oath being taken freely, under the Conservative teaching that an oath administered under such circumstances is not binding upon the voter—that such false swearing is prejudicial. Of course, a man who would thus swear at the polls, in accordance with this doctrine, would swear to a falsehood at any time, and under any circumstances. But such is not Conservative teaching and these men are bound to the party, body and soul, to do its bidding, no matter how dishonest and dishonorable it may be."—*New York Tribune.*

Infidelity at the South.—A correspondent of the *Christian Herald* makes the following statements, the result, apparently, of his observations at Chattanooga and thereabouts:

"The rebellion was to 'conserve and perpetuate slavery' as a divine institution, taught and sanctioned by the Bible. The people were told that their cause must succeed as sure as the Scriptures are true, that God was on their side, humanity and justice also, and it must succeed; but it has failed, and signally failed, too. As a natural sequence, a logical conclusion from such premises, their confidence in God's word is shaken—they disbelieve it. So prevalent is this, that prominent ministers are alarmed at this state of things, and are aroused to exertion to counteract the error by warning the people of their danger."

[If these "prominent ministers" had been alarmed a little sooner in the North as well as South, and at their own horrible doctrine of the divinity of slavery, the country long ago would have been rid of it, and so have been spared the divine judgments still storming down upon us. The country South and North, has had quite too much of this class of "prominent ministers" for the last forty years.]

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Private letters from Charleston have been received, from which we make the following extracts:

"Have you seen Gov. Perry's proclamation for reconstruction? It provides '*that all civil officers* in South Carolina who were in office when the civil government of that State was suspended in May last (except those arrested or under prosecution for treason), shall, on taking the oath of allegiance,' etc., 'resume the duties of their offices,' etc. This is a clear recognition of the officers of the late rebel government. What next?"

A correspondent gives the views of Gen. Hatch, in his own words, with reference to the recent riots and the political situation. As they were called out by an extract from a private letter published in the *Journal*, we give them at some length:

"Gen. Hatch said that the letter published in the Boston *Journal* did him great injustice. I would not do the black man, he said, an intentional injustice. As for the subject of suffrage about which you are all so much engaged, I do not care a straw, and shall neither support nor approve it. I have never studied the subject and am in doubt whether it would be a benefit or an injury to the country. I am for the country, not for white man, black man, poor man or rich man. I am not dictated to by rebels. I am civil to all with whom I transact business. The only person in the city whose hospitality I have accepted is a bed-ridden old lady, the widow of a Union man. I have, however, invited to my house and brought together freedmen's agents, anti-slavery agents, teachers of colored children, officers of the army, Union citizens and rebels, and I think such rubbing together does good, as all have good points which are displayed on such occasions—all have peculiarities which they hide.

"The riots were very much exaggerated. One black man was killed. This was the only life lost. Quite a number were beaten. The fault lay with the troops of both colors. I do not think there was much difference. Each was ready for the fight. The citizens of the lower class undoubtedly encouraged the white soldiers and in some cases got them drunk for the purpose of bringing on trouble. The troubles commenced Saturday night and lasted until Monday noon, breaking out in little rows in different parts of the city. It was really of but little importance. Everything has been quiet since.

"I have done justice," the General continued, "to both white men and black men since I came here, and men who can look upon the state of things here calmly, must acknowledge that I have never gone very far on the wrong track. Of course I have made some mistakes, but I congratulate myself that I have not made more. Matters are not looking as well, I know, as when Mr. —— ('Berwick') left. At first blush all appeared anxious to be loyal, but a reaction has taken place, and I am very sorry that Gen. Perry's course has not helped to increase the number of loyal men. He appears determined to throw the State into the hands of the very men who lead the rebellion. It is rumored that there is an intention to remove the troops. If it is done there will be a war of races throughout the lower country. The planters have learned nothing. If there is any difference the ill-feeling is increasing. We must hope that such a policy will be adopted as will prevent bloodshed. It needs no prophet to tell that the black man will go to the wall when the trouble does come. Had it not been for the fierce attacks made on me by the papers and mischievous persons who sent reports to Washington, I would have asked before this to have been relieved from duty here. Man's natural obstinacy makes me desire to fight it out."

Gen. Hatch's recent conduct in disarming the Zouaves who behaved so infamously to the colored people, gives strength to the defence.

Great satisfaction has been given to the Northern residents by the promotion of Col. Hallowell, of the 54th Mass., as Brevet Brigadier General. The "Col. Shaw Orphan House" had been removed to the princely residence of Mr. Memminger. It is devoted to colored orphans.—*Boston Journal.*

DOGBERRY ON AN INQUEST.

William Henry Davenport, a smart young mulatto, married Ellen Louisa something, a comely young Irish girl, and they were living quietly and happily together at Greenwich, Ct., in peace and charity with all men. They had broken no law of God or man; they were earning an honest livelihood, and were not even suspected of any wrong, save the bad taste (according to our notions) evinced by Ellen in accepting a copper-colored suitor.

Such bad taste is a crime in this land of Democratic liberty, though in no other on earth. A gang of the neighboring roughs, headed by a returned soldier, named Chard, undertook, last Saturday night, to break into the dwelling of this unoffending couple, and treat them as their mob instincts should dictate. In doing this, they were resisted by Betsey, wife of Joe and mother of W. H. Davenport, who, after due warning, fired at the rioters, shooting their leader dead on the spot; when the rest absconded. Thereupon, a constable arrested—not any of the rowdies, but their intended victims—who, after due investigation, were necessarily acquitted and set at liberty.

—No, not exactly at liberty, though they were cleared and discharged; for Mr. Philander Button, foreman of the Coroner's Jury, proceeded to arraign Davenport and read him the following most gratuitous and impertinent lecture:

"While the jury justify you and your mother in this matter, I deem it proper to state that we feel that *your conduct in this community has been very improper*; that you have done an act in *marrying* a white woman and living with her in a house with others of your own color, that tends to excite the *strong disapprobation* of citizens. We feel that, although there is no law against it, it is a *very great impropriety*; and we feel that your conduct in other respects among the community is such as to expose you to injury; that you are in *imminent danger* in Greenwich, nothwithstanding all the care and protection which the substantial men of the town, such as are on this jury, can afford and will continue to afford, to the best of our ability, to every man in the enjoyment of his liberty and property. Still you are exposed to *imminent danger* by your course of conduct—the fact of your carrying a pistol and your keeping a house where persons of both colors resort. If you consult your own safety and the good of the community, you will *change your course of conduct*. If I were you, I would go away from here. I do not ask you to leave your wife. That is a contract we cannot interfere with. Only the laws of the land can divorce you. But, for your *personal safety and for the personal safety of your wife*, you should be very *careful* in what you say and do. If you remain here, *avoid having any words* with any one. We feel that you have been *doing great wrongs* in the community. We know some of them, and while we discharge you and your mother from all blame in the act, we wish you to distinctly understand that for some of your proceedings you deserve *severe censure*, and you had better *change entirely your whole course of conduct, and be careful hereafter not to provoke any one, or have any quarrel.* My advice to you, as a friend, would be to leave Greenwich. Yet I wish it understood that while you live in Greenwich I shall do everything in my power to protect you, as every other man, in the possession of your house; and any one who comes from outside to assault you must take the penalty. What a fearful and sudden penalty it has been in this case we all see, and it should be a warning to the young men of Greenwich. Be sure that you take these remarks from us in the spirit of kindness.

Dr. Hoyt said that he had nothing to add but to fully coincide with the remarks of Mr. Button. He hoped the prisoner would avoid quarreling.

Davenport—Why, sir, I never had any quarrel with any of them till they attacked me.

THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS.

[For the better information of those who fancy that all the lately appointed Governors at the South will be removed for abuses of power and maladministration generally, the following is published from the New York *Times*; a paper, it must be remembered, that preeminently is understood to speak the sentiment of the Federal authorities.]

The Provisional Governors appointed by President Johnson for the important work of restoring the Southern States to their civil relations, on a constitutional basis, have, without exception, approved themselves singularly well adapted to their positions. Their action, in the first steps, has, in every case, been discreet, temperate and conservative. They have adopted the wise policy of interfering as little as possible with those things which enter into the character, history and institutions of each State, which were established in other times and are adapted to existing conditions. In one direction they must build anew, and radically, but in others they find the result of much valuable work, which only requires to be let alone. Belonging to the States which they have been appointed to temporarily govern, these Provisional Governors have entered upon their duties with a knowledge of the people and of the local laws and necessities which is of the highest advantage to them, and the fruits of which have already appeared in their measures and messages. While unequivocally loyal in every action and word, they do not unnecessarily stir up popular prejudices, or bear about the mien of conquerors. They all proclaim unflinchingly, however, that slavery is totally and forever abolished, and aid energetically in the reconstruction of the new social state upon the basis of universal freedom.

All the Provisional Governors of the States on this side of the Mississippi river have, moreover, the good fortune of being popular in their respective States. Gov. Holden, of North Carolina, and Gov. Perry of South Carolina, are both gentlemen who have been leaders of the progressive party, and who have been widely known as men of ability and character; while Gov. Johnson of Georgia, Gov. Parsons of Alabama, and Gov. Sharkey of Mississippi, have long been recognised in their native States as men of unblemished reputation, of high principle and of great capacity.

In the initial steps which these officers have taken, and in the others which they are about to take, lie the most difficult part of their work, and the most difficult part of the great labor of reconstruction. If they manage in the future with the discretion and justice which have characterized their first movements, they will have reflected honor upon themselves and done eminent service to their country.

Governor Fletcher on Contumacious Ministers.—Gov. Fletcher of Missouri is gritty. He made a speech at St. Joseph the other day, says the *Free South*, for the benefit of those preachers who refuse to take the oath, and describes his short method with them as follows:

"I have directed an enlargement of the penitentiary cell-room, with the intention that men who commit crime hereafter in this State by undertaking to decide for themselves the laws which are to be obeyed and those that are to be spit upon and trampled under foot, and thereby become accessories before the fact of criminal offenses consequent on their advice, shall be provided with suitable quarters in case they escape the hanging they well deserve."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

No State shall make any distinction in civil rights and privileges among the naturalized citizens of the United States residing within its limits, or among persons born on its soil of parents permanently resident there, on account of race, color, or descent.

THE PRESENT DANGER.

There is a writer who speaks of "living in Falsities until the consciousness of their being falsities is lost." An older if not greater than he, tells of a people who "put light for darkness, and darkness for light; and who called evil good, and good evil." And a more abandoned being still is represented as supplicating in his desperation,

"Evil, be thou my good!"

Mental Philosophy, imperfectly as it is yet understood, unfolds wondrous phenomena. The human soul is volcanic in its mysterious depths, and strange fires are smothered there. Nations and men carry within them what needs no superadded brimstone, nor burning lake, nor torturing fiend, to construct a hell.

And as in the outer circles of the deep-throated maelstrom, the victims are at first swept round and round in a delicious delight, undreaming of danger, so do men and nations reeling downward to ruin, appear to lose all moral consciousness, and to increase their momentum, with constantly augmenting, but no longer conscious guilt, until their day of doom bursts in terror upon them. Thus is it, as was long ago said, that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." So comes the day of the Lord, as a thief in the night.

Never was there a more frightful fulfilment or illustration of this philosophy, than in our late slaveholding States. Fleeing to these shores to escape tyranny, the persecuted soon began to practice oppression, and became at last the bloodiest of despots. The words of Charles Sumner, the deeds of John Brown, were lost upon them alike. The abolition of the slave trade and the slave system, by Great Britain, the overthrow of slavery in the Republics of Central and South America, and even the example of Russia, lifting the heavy heel of serfdom off the necks of millions who had bent beneath it for ages, all these were lost upon our slave States, as teachings, warnings or threatenings. And so were all the lessons of all the past; and the measure of iniquity was filled.

At length the hour struck. The crimes and cruelties of slavery festered at last in thunder storms of self-avenging wrath. And that reckless, remorseless rage, which thought by one blow to dash down forever what did, or could, now, or hereafter, oppose its diabolical designs, only shivered its own temple with all its reeking altars, in irrecoverable ruin.

But there was an accomplice in the sin, and a fellow-sufferer in the doom.

With a Declaration of Independence claiming birth-right, God-given Freedom and Equality for all men, and appealing to God for the solemn sincerity of their word and purpose, with a long and bloody Revolutionary war, and a new made Constitution, which proposed and professed to *secure* forever, all that was announced by the pen of Jefferson and accomplished by the sword of Washington, the South and the North reared together a national fabric, on the prostrate bodies and extinguished souls of half a million of those very men whom God thus created equal.

We are told of heathen temples with a hundred pillars, and every pillar resting on a human skull. More dreadful still was the underpinning of our governmental sanctuary! No wonder it was shaken down before our astonished eyeballs!

And now in the work of rebuilding, there is manifest, the same reckless disregard of justice and righteousness, which wrought the ruin of the last four years. The Standard has not failed in the last months, to lift its note of warning. It has observed on the part of priest and people in the Church, as well as of the politician and his party without, a growing indifference to the claims of the Higher Law; and to the dearly-bought rights of the slaves whose blood has been made our salvation.

Over the dead body of the martyred Lincoln, the nation seemed to swear in sublime sincerity, *death to tyranny, henceforth*, and death also to tyrants and traitors.

Four months ago the vow was made. In that time, four puny, paltry dogs have died by the halter at the hands of the ruling authorities. But the keepers of the kennel, that loosed them, cried havoc, and hounded them on to their "*deed without a name*," with very few exceptions, sleep securely in their beds. And Amnesty, Pardon, Restoration to rights, privileges, prerogatives, to honors, to offices, under their *former State sovereignties*, such is the Paradise to which we are encouraging, if not restoring them, after their four years in purgatorial fire. All this they demand of us, at any rate; imperiously *demand*? Not humbly, or penitently ask and entreat. And all this we seem ready to grant. To grant it even while they avow their determination to either restore slavery, or hurl the brave, loyal freedman beneath an iron serfdom more terrible if possible, than his former chains! And with equally defiant threats, to compel the assumption and payment of their War Debt, or a repudiation of our own.

When Wendell Phillips breathed the possibility of such contingencies, almost the entire land spurned him and his warning, with ineffable scorn. Now the words are wafted to us with fearful portent, on the daily breeze, and are fast losing their terror.

Three months ago, almost every Republican newspaper favored, and most of them advocated the right of suffrage, irrespective of color or race. In Iowa and Connecticut, the question was passed upon so far as to render it nearly an assured success in those States. Indeed the Democratic party, dreading the almost certain triumph of the righteous measure at the South, began also to advocate it, as inevitable, however repulsive and undesirable.

But the rebel States, as if forgetful of their subjugation, or denying it altogether, howled such protests as set the North to trembling; and the whole tone of the press and people is changing, to most alarming degree.

It has been claimed and constantly declared that the strange modes of reconstruction as began by the President, and so far carried forward, would all be set aside by Congress, so soon as it could come together; and that no State would be readmitted to the Union, except on conditions utterly unlike those contemplated in the presidential proclamations and appointments. And herein rested our last hope of Peace; a peace, based on Justice, safe and enduring.

This fondly, confidently, cherished hope, is likely to be cut off. For already the most radical Republican journals are earnestly exhorting the South to accept the President's plan of reconstruction, as "one by which disputes can be settled in such a manner as must necessarily satisfy all parties, and thus keep the sentiment of the country united." The South is farther assured that "the majority of the Northern people approve thus far the liberal policy of the President; and are willing to sustain him, *and to do even more*, if he is met in a kindred spirit of justice and good will!" But "*should the policy of the President fail, the determination of matters will be left to Congress*; which after such an experience, will not be in so fitting a mood." And much more in similar strain.

In another column will be found a brief article from the New York *Times* of this week, declaring that the newly appointed "Governors have, without exception, approved themselves singularly well adapted to their positions." * * "If they manage in the future with the discretion and the justice which have characterized their first movements, they will have reflected honor upon themselves, and done eminent service to their country."

It is well known how high the *Times* stands, in Presidential estimation.

The Republicans of Ohio declined to meet the question of justice and suffrage to the colored man, in their late Convention; but most amply has their candidate for Governor, General Cox, spoken for them. He not only opposes Equality of rights, but argues strenuously that the two races can never live in the same state together.

And this in Ohio! The home of the intrepid Ben Wade; of Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase; and once of the incorruptible Samuel Lewis of old Liberty Party fame; and for half a century, of the valiant old Nestor in political anti-slavery, Joshua R. Giddings!

Vermont pursued the same course in her Convention as did Ohio. And so did New Jersey, of course. Pennsylvania holds her Convention this week, and the same is expected confidently, there.

At first, the proscriptive doctrines of Gen. Cox were strenuously repudiated by the Republican press. But already there is reaction, and apology is sought for them; doubts are suggested whether after all, the General may not be right; and the "*Radicals*" are reminded that "many have fears that they have not sufficiently considered the importance of so great a step as they are urging upon the country." And, as will be seen in another column, the Southern rebels are already cooling their tongues with this drop of water from the finger of Gen. Cox.

And so Congress, after all, is not to correct but confirm the fatal policy of the President. The South is assured that the North will not only sustain him, "*but will do even more*" than he has proposed. Ohio declares against colored suffrage, Vermont and New Jersey ignore it, and New York, and New England, too, apologize for them. Anti-slavery orators of the most ultra school have come to deny that suffrage is a natural right; or any thing but a mere conventional privilege, to be given or withheld by the vote of the few or the many that chance to hold the power. Conventional Might determining questions of natural and eternal right! To this complexion it has come at last.

After all, what do we propose? From the frightful convulsions it is producing in the body politic, it might be inferred that all temporal honors and eternal glories were included in this proffer of suffrage to our own emancipated slaves—one might even suppose we were exalting the colored race to the highest heaven, and sinking our own in the doing of it, down to the profoundest hell.

But what would this ineffable boon be when conferred? This only. It would elevate the late slaves of the plantations into that boundless bliss enjoyed by the colored people of New York and New England; and elegantly described the other day in a widely-read journal, as "*free niggerism.*" The head and front of the offending, would have that extent: no more.

With suffrage in Vermont, the colored man is but a "free nigger," and sad enough at that. In Massachusetts he is the same. There are churches even in Boston whose printed bye-laws forbid him *to own* even a negro pew, though it were behind the door or under the sacramental altar. Taxed in Rhode Island to support the public schools, the colored man cannot send his children to them. In Connecticut and New York his condition is no better. Everywhere, it is "*Free Niggerism*," "*Free Niggerdom*," or whatever name the fertile, color-hating brain of the whiter race can invent, to wreak its spleen, its scorn, its loathing upon these unfortunate beings. And the whole question, the one great agony which is now rending, if not ruining, the country, is whether we shall raise our own soldiers and saviors, and their down-trodden race in the South, to such sublime exaltation as this! Have we not also revelled in falsities, until all moral consciousness has faded from the national character?

THE HOUR AND ITS MYSTERIES.

Men wondered last year what would be done for News, when the war should end. So far, there is no famine in that direction. Nor do we need the Atlantic Cable to keep alive the wild excitement, whether success or failure attend thet sublime enterprise.

War slew its thousands, but Peace, such peace as we have, is no less a Destroyer. The distraction after gain is growing more frightful than even the terrors of war. The worshippers of Mammon are more desperate, and not less destructive than the devotees of Mars. Superannuated Steamboats mildewed and wormeaten, or if sound and sea worthy, through reckless mismanagement, are made altars of daily and nightly sacrifice. Incendiaries and assassins ply also their work of destruction and death.

And to-day and yesterday are unfolding new, and perhaps more wondrous scenes. Loss of life we learned to look upon with composure, in the war. Battle-field, Hospital and Prison together fed the Insatiate monster; and though the victims were our sons and brothers, their very multitude came at last to lend a bewildering satisfaction to the sight. And so Death ceased almost to be the King of Terrors.

Now, the seat of woe, if not of war, is transferred to the Exchange, and the Bull Run is already enacted. The revelations at the Phenix Bank, and to-day at the immense Bureau of Ketchum, Son & Co., have sent thrills of almost shuddering horror from ocean to ocean. The newspapers have already inaugurated the "Era of Embezzlement;" and head sensation screeches with Astounding Disclosures; Gigantic Defalcations; Tremendous Forgeries; Panic among the Bankers; surrounded with all imaginable array of exclamation and surprise—as though all this had not been expected and predicted. The following from the *World* contains the important facts of the latest Apocalypse:

THE ERA OF EMBEZZLEMENT—TWO MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS OBTAINED ON FORGED CHECKS.

This morning affords another evidence of the financial insecurity of the time.

The son of a gentleman, the husband of a lady, a social favorite, a business responsibility, has proved to be a defaulter if not a forger, and the country will reel from Wall street to the Golden Gate at the addition of the story of his defalcation to the list we have had already of people who were trusted and were unworthy. Edward B. Ketchum, the defaulter in question, who has outrivalled Sir John Dean Paul the English banker, Sadlier, of parliamentary fame, and even the historic John Law himself, in the magnitude of his swindling operations, is quite a young man in years if an old one in crime. He has not attained his, as yet, third decade, being but a few days advanced in his twenty-fifth year. Three children, unconscious of the future stigma to be attached to their good name, and a young wife remain to him, bitter memories of his youthful love and reckless after-crime.

ANNOUNCEMENT AT THE STOCK BOARD.

At the meeting of the stock board yesterday morning, it was announced that the firm of Ketchum, Son & Co., had suspended payments, and also the firm of Graham & Co.

It soon began to be understood that the guilty party was Edward Ketchum, son of Mr. Morris Ketchum, and partner in the firm of Ketchum, Son & Co.; that by forgery and peculation he had obtained something over two millions of dollars, and had absconded on Monday evening.

A panic was instantly created in Wall street, and there were numerous scenes yesterday illustrative of a temporary general loss of faith in honesty as a controlling principle, and a prevailing belief in the doctrine of human depravity. Loans were called in, and the rate of discount for new ones went up to seven per cent. The blow seemed still to be impending over Wall street, and it was hardly known who would yet participate in heavy losses.

Kentucky.—The latest account is that the pro-slavery majority will be 7,000. The new Legislature will probably contain a pro-slavery majority of 6 in the Senate and 14 in the House. This is bad look for the Constitutional Amendment.

PERSONAL.

Rev. William Henry Channing sailed for England in the steamer New York on Saturday. Rev. Dr. Lothrop of Boston, is also on his way to Europe.

We hear of Prof. Agassiz at Rio Janeiro, where he was lecturing on geology. His many friends will be pleased to know that he and his party were well.

A negro woman who was baptized a few Sundays ago at Huntsville, Ala., came forth from the water shouting, "freed from slavery, freed from sin, bless God and Gen. Grant."

Herschel V. Johnson, candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Douglas ticket in 1860, was pardoned by the President on Wednesday, at the intercession, it is said, of Mrs. Douglas.

John M. Botts is quite fat—has grown very old and gray—he wears a Southern slouched hat and looks more like a Pennsylvania teamster than like the representative of the "F. F. V.'s."

The New York correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* says that Mr. Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, has a salary of $7,500 a year and Mr. Frederick Hudson, of the *Herald*, has $10,000 a year.

William Cullen Bryant has purchased the homestead in his native town of Cummington, Hampshire County, Mass., and is refitting it for a summer residence. He has been spending a part of the summer there.

Maj.-Gen. B. F. Butler will soon publish a reply to the pamphlet of Chaplain Hudson. The work is now in press. Gen. Butler was in Pittsfield on Monday night, and had an interview with many of the public men of Western Massachusetts.

Gen. Meagher made a speech in St. Louis last week to an Irish society, in which he cautioned Irishmen to beware of copperheads, and not to be drawn into opposition to the government. He came out boldly for negro suffrage, saying that a Democrat who would deny the negro the right to vote is not worthy to participate in the triumph of the nation.

Miss Susan B. Anthony started for her home in Rochester this morning. She has been on a visit to her brother, Col. Anthony, since last winter, and expresses unbounded admiration of the intellectual and social advancement of our people, both in Leavenworth and throughout the State. Miss Anthony made many friends while she was among us, and takes with her to her Eastern home the heartfelt wishes of all for her future happiness.—*Leavenworth Daily Bulletin, Aug. 5.*

A letter to us from Mrs. DeMortie, at New Orleans, says: "My work here is going on as well as could be expected while we must have many interruptions arising from a General commanding who is not over-friendly to our work. The State authorites, too, are very much against anything for the advancement of colored people. The rebels are having everything their own way, and are making their boast that they will soon close up all the nigger-schools and orphans' homes in this department." Mrs. DeMortie is doing a good work in New Orleans, and deserves all the encouragement she can have.

The Roxbury *Journal* speaking of Thoreau's Letters just published by Ticknor and Fields Boston, says: Thoreau was one of that class of men who never write with other than perfect frankness and freedom; so that one does not look to his private letters for new insight into his character. They are interesting and valuable, rather, for the variety of topics on which they treat, and the mixture of shrewdness, satire, and spicy eccentricity which characterize his opinions. The book is among the most valuable of Thoreau's collected writings, and there is a breezy freshness in some of it particularly enjoyable just now.

In the Music Hall, recently, Gen. Fiske said that he had always confided in colored men, and in all his military experience, had never but once been betrayed, and that was by a mulatto who had "first family" blood enough in him to make him a traitor. One of many instances of the good service rendered the General by the contrabands was the following:

A strange looking, white-headed negro, about four feet and a half high, came to Gen. Fiske's headquarters, and falling on his knees, began to weep piteously. He at length became composed enough to say that his master, Cobb, captain of a military company twenty miles up the Mississippi river, was about firing into transports from a masked battery. The General's escort was sent off under "Uncle Josh's" pilotage, and at four o'clock the next day this old, liliputian, "inferior" being,—this what-is-it,—led into headquarters "Massa Cobb," holding him by the coat collar. His whole rebel company followed.

"Now," said Gen. Fiske, "shall that captain, Massa Cobb, who begged Uncle Josh to intercede with the Yankees to save his life, shall Cobb be allowed to vote and uncle Josh be kept from the ballot-box?"

"No!" shouted more voices in number than those that lately made the Music Hall ring with Handel's "Israel in Egypt."

We desire to thank that venerable and devoted friend of the cause, Miss Ann King of Ferrisburg, Vt., as well as her brother, Rowland T. Robinson, for their generous contributions in token of their conviction that the "distinctive work of the Abolitionists is not yet accomplished."

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

To the Editor of the Standard.

Many years ago we had a neighbor, that never dropped in without having a dolorous story to tell us. Things were always going wrong, and somebody was acting as they "shouldn't oughter" somewhere every day in the year. One day we said to him "why, Mr. P. do you not sometimes tell us of something good; surely all the world, and everything in it, is not evil."

"Oh! no, was his ready reply, things is mostly for the better, but then good things take kere o' therselves and don't need tellin on; its only the bad that needs heading off." Pardon me, but I cant help thinking of neighbor P. when I receive the weekly visit of the Standard, full as it is of evil and iniquity; in these days when our hearts should be beating so lightly over the return of proud and joyful hopes of meeting our beloved ones again.

But these bad tales must be told, and we rejoice in the faithful chronicling of the Anti-Slavery Standard.

But who shall read its columns and not read "signs of the times." Its most startling articles as detailing the wrongs done to the Freedmen are extracts from journals read by the million, such as the *Tribune, Times, Herald, Cincinnati Commercial and Gazette*—St Louis *Democrat*—Chicago *Tribune*, and others of like ilk, and these tales are told by reliable journalists and correspondents—scattered from the Potomac to the Rio Grande—watching every outbreak, and saying as plainly as pen and ink or tongue can,

"A chiel's among ye, takin' notes
And faith he'll print 'em."

Friends of the Freedmen, are scattering like the seeds of the Canadas this thistle, whereever there is soil enough to take root, and the blasts they blow go echoing over the world. Plantation Superintendents and contraband school marms—the great band of "Gideonites," as they used to call us at Beaufort—stand like policemen at the corners—*a great moral police* ready and willing to report outrages, and to stir up public feelings, against each infringement upon the rights of those under their charge.

Wrongs there must be. Outrages there will be. Nine millions of people taught, generation after generation, through two hundred years, as religiously to believe in the "Divine institution of slavery," as the Turk to believe there is but "One God and Mahomed is his Prophet,—cannot be expected to change their faith in six months, and to recognise the four millions of chattel slaves, the black men who four years ago had no rights that white men were bound to respect—as citizens and brothers!

They have been brought up to be cruel as hyenas and what is bred in the bone, will never grow out of the flesh. Herr Driesbach whips his lions, tigers and hyenas into docility, and even these—if their brutalities are reported every day in the week as they now

are, will ere long so outrage the people that they will compel a better state of things.

No sign of the times is so hopeful as this, that the wrong-doing—the outrages committed upon the colored people, are so promptly reported in our leading journals, and so multitudinously echoed in every city, village and country street.

Some thirty years ago, there was a small stampede of slaves, from Parkersburg Virginia. Their owners were furious—every loser of his chattel, cursing the Abolitionists for his loss, and vowing with loud voices and horrid oaths, that the next one that crossed the Ohio should be hung to the first limb of the first tree to be reached."

"So they went about the streets telling the story—how "Stone and Browning and them fellows over in Belfre—would take in their niggers and give up their trains and take them up into White Oak, and over the hills to McConnelsville, and through to Jonesville and so on to the Canadas—how they had a regular underground railroad all the way—and men all along the route ready to help the nigger—mean men that had no more sense or decency than to get up in the night and go themselves ten or fifteen miles—with our boys and girls, Jim and Nancy, to a new depot etc. etc.

And all the while they spouted and stormed Cuffy and Sambo, and Dick and Dinah were getting the lesson by heart, and it was not long until keeping human chattels, was very unprofitable on the banks of the Ohio (on the east side) and many an old slave-owner gave it up.

So the *News* and the *World*—Macon *Telegraph*, Vicksburg *Herald*, St. Louis *Republican*, Chicago *Times*, Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Columbus *Crisis*, all them copperhead cousins by their storming and ranting, are educating the people.

Keep them stirred up, trouble the pool, day and night, let them know that if there are Perrys and Holdens in the Carolinas, there are a Saxton and Redpath also. If Sherman decides against negro suffrage at Indianapolis, Chase decides for it at Charleston. There is a Mayor Mayo in Richmond. But there is a better and nobler man there to see to it that he behaves seemingly—all honor to Maj.-Gen. Terry and Brig.-Gen. Howley. Andy Johnson denounced old John Brown six years ago as a murderer, thief and traitor. But "John Brown's spirit has been marching on"—and so has Andy Johnson's. Till now he—the latter—sits in the Presidential chair, and the voice of the people must move him and will move him to higher and nobler deeds, than he even deemed himself capable of doing in the past. Anti-Slavery people must work. Now is their harvest time, the fields so long tilled are ready—and the golden grain must be gathered in. There should be no relaxation; no laying off the armor—no discouragement, no despair. The work is not done when the harvest is laid in the winrows. It must be gathered up—bound into bundles and thrashed from the chaff and straw and made clean and ready for the market, ere we hang up our weapons and rest from our labors.

By the way, I have been in the lecturing field a little during the past two months—and I find a desire to hear—even in Jersey, and no subject meets the popular want like that of my "Experiences among the Freedmen." More than once—on short notice—churches have been filled to overflowing, and though I spoke my strongest words against the "sum of all villanies," and claimed for all humanity without regard to sex, color or race, Equality before the law, as the only reliable foundation of a lasting peace, I met no disapprobation that was outspoken.

Allow me to say to the friends in New Jersey that I will accept calls to talk to the people on the "Duties of the Hour"—"Temperance" etc. "the Freedmen of the Atlantic Coast or the Mississippi Valley." My Post Office address is Lambertville, New Jersey.

FRANCES D. GAGE.

Lambertville, August 8, 1865.

LIFE AT ARLINGTON AMONG FREEDMEN.

To the Editor of the Standard:

You ask that I glance back to the picturesque life among the freedmen which I have but recently left, and tell you what I see. I am puzzled where to begin, not for lack of material, but from abundance, there are so many phases, so many little matters curious and interesting, lost past recall, or which only a graphic pen could render vividly. The camp, in which I have lived for the past half year, is on the edge of the Arlington estate. It consists of six good-sized log houses, each divided for two families. The ground on which it stands is a valley, densely wooded with oak in the days of Geo. Washington Parke Custis; for he prized his forests very highly, and would have none cleared. Since the war began they have all fallen beneath the axe of the soldier, except the trees in the grounds surrounding the house. So our valley contains only stumps and a three years' growth of oak surrounding them.

On the ridge east of us Freedmen's Village was built. Here varying numbers of freedmen, from one thousand to between two and three thousand have been under charge of Government.

At present, except the aged and some families of colored soldiers incapable of supporting themselves, the inhabitants are self-sustaining, paying the rent of $3 per month for their tenements.

A half mile further on, one enters the grounds of the Arlington House. Here one walks among the green graves of nearly six thousand of our patriot and some rebel dead, all newly sodded and bounded by white head and foot boards, on which are painted the names, company, regiment and former home of the deceased. A few bear only the sad words "unknown soldier."

Following the road which winds around the garden, now encircled by graves of Union officers, one comes to the old mansion, with its massive-pillared piazza, from which is one of the rarest views of the winding river and the cities beyond.

The interior of the house contains but little of interest. On the walls of the hall hang some wretched pictures, battle scenes, painted by Custis, representing Washington in heroic attitudes and perilous positions, with the placid expression which is given him on the faces of wooden clocks, riding a horse like none that ever lived. In the library stand some antiquated bookcases containing old volumes, among which I noticed the "African Repository" and some old school books. In the parlors are a piano-stool of the Misses Lee and some other articles of furniture, and on the walls a few pictures, among these a pencil sketch said to have been made by the rebel Gen. Lee.

In the rear of the house are the former slave quarters, still occupied by the persons, once bond, now free men who served Custis and afterward were held by Lee.

Here is the old coachman, who has a bunch of Lily of the Valley to sell for a memento. Here also lives a young woman who taught a colored school in the house last year, whose family have lived here for two generations; she is now employed as a teacher at Freedmen's Village.

All are respectable and refined; the reason for this is partly told, in the fact that Mrs. Custis, mother of Mrs. Lee, was a very religious woman, and thought it her duty to teach her slaves to read the Bible. She collected the children every day and taught them herself. To know how to read was not considered so dangerous as a knowledge of writing; this was strictly withheld.

Outside the grounds not far distant, is the humble cottage of "Aunt Sally." Aunt Sally is a stately, venerable old woman, whose white hair peeps out beneath the ample turban. She can tell how Lee defrauded her children, with all the rest of the bondmen of Custis, of the freedom which he gave them at his death. Some of the young and daring fled, determined not to be re-enslaved; a part of these were captured and brought back, among them her daughter. She will point out the barn where Lee took the girl, and finding the official whom he had summoned, unwilling to whip the woman, that flower of chivalry lashed her back himself; when sufficiently lacerated to suit him, it was salted, and she sent to Richmond to serve five years. When I saw Aunt Sally she was almost sick with hope deferred, for the return of her daughter. She treated us to some quince she had preserved for that occasion, which she thought it was no use to keep longer. But Aunt Sally's mourning was destined to end in joy. Custis Lee, son of the Rebel General, with true chivalry, and a sense of justice, when the five years expired, gave her son and this daughter free papers and sent them through the lines to their mother.

From the ridge making the western horizon of our valley, frown, or rather smile, the protecting walls of Fort Craig. Further on, the ridge has been fringed by the tents of Gen. Meade's army.

This valley, as I have said, has no beauty that the eye should desire it, but here nestle, in comfort and safety, eleven families of freedmen and their teacher.

Hope and fear, ambition, energy, nobleness, devotion, all human traits stir the humble dwellers here, as on the more showy plane of life.

Here, during the long winter evenings, a school was held for adults. Men came from quite a distance beyond the camp. Both men and women learned to read and some to write their names. But after the mind has lain fallow through the earlier years, it requires great effort to apply it to letters, and many lose heart and say, "I'se too old." "Dese young ones, dey can learn, dere heads is clair. I has too much to think about." So the evening school opens grandly, for the oldest are eager to get the knowledge which they believe is power, but grows less until only a persistent few are left, whose progress has inspired them with courage to persevere.

As the evenings shortened and the work in the day was longer and harder, reading the papers, among which was the STANDARD, took the place of study. These readings brought out some curious and interesting discussions. The STANDARD amazed them, they "just wish 'ole Mis' had to see that paper." Then the anti-slavery work and its leaders were sketched for them. Strange it seemed that they had never heard the names of those who had been toiling for years for their rights!

They were very eager for news, often buying a daily paper, when the newsboy slighted us, and still, very incredulous when every day brought an account of a victory. They could not see how the tyrant whom they knew so well could be whipped. After admitting that possible, they would put the puzzling question which now agitates the national councils, "After you whips 'em, what is you goin to do wid 'em? You neber can do nuffin wid 'em; der hearts down dere all de same, dey is jis bad as eber."

Then would follow speculations about their own future. "You says we fur to go back where we lived, where ole boss lives?"—"Yes." "I wants to go back, but I neber wants to work for him no mo'. I knows he neber do fur by me, he can't. I ought to have a piece of his land, I'se earned it." To see how ambitious they were, I asked how much they wanted. "O five or ten acres." The old man who said this was fifty years old, bent and stiffened with over work, he seemed seventy. I thought he made a very moderate estimate of his services.

When the guns which rocked the earth about us, told of the capture of Richmond, they would not believe. When the paper told it, still they shook their heads incredulously. I said, "but our great General sends word about it to the Secretary of War;" that made no impression; finally I said, "Uncle Sam," they always called the President thus, "is there, and he writes back about it." "Uncle Sam down dar? He say its so? den its 'bliged to be true. But he ought not to go dere dey all kill him, what he go dere for. He 'spose himself too much."

If they never could entirely believe any other of the white race, and I don't think they ever did, they wholly trusted the beloved President.

If they felt themselves at any time unjustly treated, "they knowed Uncle Sam did not do dat, and did not know it."

When, a little more than a week after the guns of victory boomed from every fort, I opened my door in the early morning and was greeted by the gloomy faces of the men of the camp, who told the ghastly story they had heard of the assassination, and asked did I think it was true, the incredulity changed sides. I said "no." They all but one believed it. "It was jes like de secesh." "You all don know 'em as we does." If we improve our opportunities we have no excuse for ignorance long.

Every cabin door wore its little badge of mourning, sometimes an old lace veil, a piece of black fringe or a strip of cotton, and on every cabin wall hung one or more pictures of the beloved President, whom they think a martyr to their cause.

Uncle Moses came to me and said, "I wants you to get me a likeness of Uncle Sam. I wants it to look at as long as I lives, and if I leaves anybody behind me, I wants 'em to have it." They were anxious about who should fill his place, and feared the change boded them ill. But faith triumphed. One aunty said, "When I heard Uncle Sam 'dead, I went out and cried 'O, Jesus, why did you let this be done?' Jesus answered 'Be quiet child, de Lord will provide.'"

When spring opened, chicken houses were built and chickens, their dearest possession, because the only one permitted them in slave life, were bought. The city market was visited and these costly treasures purchased at $1.25 a piece. A thank-offering of the first eggs was made to their teacher.

Gardens were the next essay, and a difficult and discouraging one, the ground looked as though it was paved with stones. But faithful effort was rewarded with a respectable growth of potatoes and other vegetables. When I have heard the men, after their day's work on the farm, plying the hoe, far into the evening, I thought that they scarcely needed the frequent exhortations to industry which they received, in their own words once, "Guesses we can do dat ar; don' no nuffin else, neber did nuffin else."

The school was held in a rude shanty. Here from two miles distant pupils to the number of fifty collected, and showed quite a New England zeal in coming and a progress in learning and in their deportment most gratifying to their teacher, who sees everything to encourage the belief that these people will make, nay most are now, a sober, industrious, law-abiding people, as capable of using the elective franchise for their own and their country's interests, as the majority of the people who now possess that right.

EMILY HOWLAND.

Sherwoods, N. Y., August 1st, 1865.

A LECTURE TO ONE WM. H. DAVENPORT (COLORED), OF GREENWICH, CT.

THEY are having a new dispensation down in Connecticut. If it has been supposed by any unsophisticated person that the law—Divine or human—was the proper guide of our actions, let him be instructed anew by the Solons of Greenwich.

Taste, sir, TASTE is the article. Not your own taste, to be sure; far from it—it's the taste of the "substantial men," of the "citizens" of the community, by which you are henceforth to regulate your conduct. Mark the word "citizens"; for, although "to the manor born," you have not yet risen quite to the proud eminence of a *citizen*. But, for the nonce, let us drop the "citizen"; you may perhaps, "in the spirit of kindness," be allowed at least the title of a *man*.

Your fellow-MAN, then—though "substantial," he's "a man for a' that"—has certain ideas of "propriety," rather vaguely exhibited, perhaps, in practice—but never mind, it isn't *his* practice we are discussing. *Your* views on the same subject unfortunately differ from those of your neighbor. You act upon your convictions, and straightway incur the "strong disapprobation of citizens."

You are not aware, probably—nor is any one else—of your having infringed on the laws of the Commonwealth; you presume to apply to your wretched self the text that "whatever God hath joined, let no man put asunder." But you forget—simple creature!—that "this is a white man's country," and that "the Bible was not made for niggers."

See the result of your ignorance! First, the un-"substantial" citizens visit their disapprobation on yourself and belongings (as the "citizens" of Jerusalem of eld visited theirs on Stephen) by a very substantial shower of brickbats. By being forearmed, if not forewarned, you save your life, family and property. The law justifies you in this as in the former act. You stand acquitted before God and man; yet you incur the "severe censure" of the "substantial" men, even for that very forearming.

But more than this—you are in "imminent danger" unless you "change entirely your whole course." Not even all the "care and protection," so kindly—and, we hope, sincerely—afforded by the substantial men, can suffice to protect you from violence at the hands of the unsubstantial, if you persist in such "great wrongs" as providing for and protecting your family. The magnanimous citizens "do not ask you to leave your wife" (Heaven bless them!); but "your personal safety" and hers depend on your being "careful not to provoke any-one." As your very existence, in that infernal black hide, seems to be a provocation to the "young men of Greenwich," it is perhaps a matter of difficulty to avoid giving offence. You may, possibly, enjoy a partial immunity by "avoiding to have any words with any one." Note the "*any!*" "ANY words" out of a black skin are sure to provoke those irritable "young men." Perhaps some ingenious citizen of Connecticut will generously provide thee—incautious proscript—with a "lingual preventive," secured by letters-patent of the United States (in South Carolina they say *gag*), to guard against the enunciation of "any words." Albeit men's mouths seem adapted to the making of "words," remember the leucophilistic destiny of this great Republic, resign yourself to inarticulate sounds and your native darkness; burrow in the ground, hide from the light of day, and perhaps the impertinence of your existence may be forgotten.

However, even this is a half-way measure. The "citizens" of Greenwich are radical. They have a "substantial" and thorough-going remedy for such disorders in the body politic. The gag, with them, is only a compromise. Annihilation is their *beau ideal;* next, if that cannot be had, stands expatriation. The "young men of Greenwich" unsuccessfully attempted the former; whereupon the latter is recommended by the "substantial citizens," in the "spirit of kindness," of course, but a kind of kindness terribly suggestive of St. Bartholomew or the July riots.

"As a friend," you are asked to emigrate. You are not appreciated by a sensitive community—*ergo*, you must travel. Dim visions of Arkansas rails, North Carolina tar and live-geese feathers arise in the background; but no, the spirit of the age has advanced; proud Connecticut despises these tame instruments of "censure"; the outraged "propriety" of the village is vindicated by aggressive combinations of granite, lead, and steel; and when these fail to produce a conversion, ostracism is the alternative.

Take heed, therefore, improvident black; go and sin no more! If you propose to marry, "pop" not the question to your dear beloved, nor to her "pa," nor to her elder brother, nor to her guardian! Go first to the substantial men of Greenwich and get their consent! *Then* the above distant relatives may be consulted. If you ambitiously aspire to the possession of "a pistol"—though it may be one you captured in the holy fight from a "substantial" traitor—ask the gracious permission of the citizens of Greenwich. Before you do your marketing—provided that feat can be accomplished without "any words"—ascertain from the same respectable source what you are to have for dinner. Let the fashion of your garments conform to the same authority! When your first-born arrives, let the "young men of Greenwich" dictate his name. You may not believe in the intercession of saints; but do not omit to pray for the intercession of the Greenwich authorities! When you return thanks to your Maker, return them also to your Greenwich protectors! And ask less fervently for a new heart than for a new skin.

If your prayer be answered, you may possibly satisfy the taste of your substantial "friends"; but failing in that, flee, flee to the utmost confines of the earth—nay, of Greenwich town, lest you be by the wrath of an incensed community consumed.

As that very principle of miscegenation which, when practiced in a *lawful* manner, is so hateful to the Connecticut "citizens," suddenly becomes endowed with sanctity when carried on under the mantle of the "patriarchal institution" (however interwoven it may be with fornication, or adultery)—therefore remove to Kentucky, be divorced, let your wife be your owner, and you "her nigger man"; and whatever amalgamation may *then* follow, will assuredly be fragrant in the virtuous nostrils of Greenwich, Ct.

A. M.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 14, 1865.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, late Vice-President of the rebel Confederacy, but at present residing at Fort Warren, near this city, is said to be trying the submissive dodge, no doubt the most promising one for the circumstances in which he now finds himself. He is quiet, patient and plausible; and a sympathizer from your city who has lately visited him assisted his "little game" by reporting that he expresses himself "as having never been an enemy to the Government, but as having accepted public office in the Confederacy with hopes of contributing more speedily to a settlement of the national difficulties." The latter part of this statement is undoubtedly true, even though Stephens says it. He meant, no doubt, to give us "a settler," and to arrange all disputed points permanently in conformity with Southern ideas. His intended method of settlement was the capture of Washington, the substitution of Jeff. Davis and himself for Lincoln and Hamlin, and dictation to the Yankees from that fine strategic position. This plan (and the assassination plot) having failed, he tries the submissive attitude. From this attitude on his part, and on the part of those who have coolness and self-command enough to cooperate with him, is now coming our greatest danger. The blustering, arrogant policy, the policy of Davis and Mason and Wise, is at length played out. The question now is, how many vanquished secessionists, by professing good intentions in the past and good purposes for the future, and by emulating the mildness of new milk generally, will succeed in getting a voice in the terms of reconstruction? How many of the band of highwaymen who were knocked down in the act of attempting robbery will now be allowed—on their declaration of honest intentions for the future—to stand up again as equal citizens, and have a voice in deciding what shall be done with the traveller's baggage?

The *National Intelligencer* says the dangers to the country, as far as indicated now, lie in the agitations, the denunciations, the distrust, the misrepresentations, the exactions, the threats which some radicals constantly persist in levelling against the South—as if their purpose was to drive that people from us, into the utter darkness of confusion, degradation and despair. Of the masses of the Southern people it declares that they are "prostrate and submissive;" and it seems to find in this state of things sufficient warrant not only for a discontinuance of active measures against those who have for four years been aiming their weapons at the heart of the nation, but for the discontinuance of all precaution against a renewal of hostilities on their part. True, they are prostrate—like the highwayman who has been knocked down by the stronger traveller whom he had assaulted. In a certain sense they are submissive—for, since the defeat of their last army they do not attempt to fight. Moreover, a certain number of them, like the crafty Stephens, are trying the policy of expressions of submission as a means of allaying suspicion, trying what they can gain out of the wreck, and seizing such opportunities as may offer for reconstruction on something like the old basis. Now the fair promises of these persons are not in the least to be trusted, their submissive attitude does not warrant the slightest indulgence towards them, because these demonstrations come from people who perjured themselves at the beginning of the rebellion. As far as this class is concerned, not a word they say is to be believed. But there is a far larger class who openly avow that their submission is practised as the readiest means of a return to power. They beg their Southern brethren to notice that, while no possible chance exists for them in any other direction, by taking the oath (or any number of oaths) and asking for pardon they may yet favorably modify the terms of reconstruction; may yet secure to the mass of leading Southern whites precisely their old position, and may perhaps yet cheat the negro out of half his labor by so contriving the new laws as to assign to him a permanently subordinate position.

Facts current in the daily press show that a very large number in all the Southern States are resisting the claim of the negroes for freedom, and are striving to fix them in a position intermediate between their old one and that to which justice and the defeat of the slaveholders' rebellion entitle them. At the recent election in Kentucky there was a pro-slavery ticket, supported by the same men who, a year ago, went for the McClellan ticket. It would seem, by their actions, as if a large number of them really believed that the State of Kentucky could retain slavery after its extinction in the rest of the country. As it is, they are likely to be converted from this error, by the rapid diminution of their laboring population. The blacks are said to be leaving the State at the rate of five hundred a day. Competition for the labor of those who remain may, perhaps, give them better wages than if this foolish course had not been taken. But, for all the purposes of a truly democratic United States Government, votes for slavery are as dangerous as votes for treason.

In Western South Carolina the planters assume a right to flog the negroes whom they hire, and this course was so largely practised as to call forth an order rebuking and forbidding it from Gen. C. H. Van Wyck, commanding that military district.

In Mobile, a Police Court Judge has decided that negroes are not competent to testify.

In Tennessee, evidence is accumulating that many of the planters manage to make a nominal free-labor system yield them as great a monopoly of profit as slavery ever did. In a case lately on trial there it was proved that the master made and broke three distinct contracts for labor with his colored laborers. The last attempt at a contract on their part resulted in his saying—"I will not tell you what I will give you; I will give just what I please, and no more." And this is an occurrence of the present year, 1865.

In Mississippi, the recent election for a Convention has shown large conservative majorities. Even in Ohio, the candidate for Governor, Gen. Cox, gave it as the result of his experience and observation that the white and black races cannot permanently live together in this country. It remains true still, as it was in the beginning of the rebellion, that our difficulties are not with the people of the Southern States only, but that the only just and right method of reconstruction will be contested by Northern as well as Southern opposers. These things being so, it would be madness to restore to the exercise of civil and political functions men whose sympathies are with secession as well as slavery. While the power remains to us to inflict penalties on notorious rebels, let us not fail, at least, to see that those are inflicted the omission of which would put our own future most gravely in peril.

Our Southern prospect has certainly its dark features; but the North also has a large share of them. Last night we had in Boston one of those terrible crimes "against the person" which have become so frequent of late. A young married woman of good character, going home about ten o'clock in the evening (an hour when we have been accustomed to think woman as safe from injury or insult in the streets of Boston as by day,) was seized by four men, forcibly carried up stairs to a room occupied by them, and ravished by each of them, the others combining to stifle her cries for help, and to overcome her struggles. These criminals were returned soldiers. Fortunately, they are all in custody, and the evidence seems sufficient to convict them of this greatest of crimes. But the questions arise for our consideration, how shall such crimes be prevented? and are we not fearfully exposed to these and other acts of violence from the very class of men by whom this piece of brutality was committed?

Our armies, during every portion of the last four years, assembled as they were at the call of a legitimate Government, and for the purpose of defending the rights of the Nation against a groundless and most wicked rebellion, included many of the noblest and best of the American people. Some of the loveliest characters, some of the purest hearts among us have felt it their duty to answer the call of the Executive, and go forth to defend, not the Capital only, but the Nation's life. Many such have fallen, many such remain. But it is no less true that an army attracts to itself also the worst members of a community. The license which war necessarily gives to evil passions and evil deeds tempts such men to engage in it, and they of course use such opportunities as fall in their way violently to seize any possessions of men or women which seem to them desirable. No doubt some of the Federal soldiers, as some of the rebel soldiers, plundered friend and foe indiscriminately as opportunity offered. The habit of "foraging" tends to confuse distinctions of property and ideas of right, but this habit is part of the education of the soldier; and now the men who have had years of this education are returning to form part of our community. While tens of thousands of soldiers, good, bad and indifferent, are coming back to take their places among us, and often having to wait weeks and months before obtaining employment, is it strange that some vices of the camp break out in the centres of civilization? Is not this part of the price we have to pay for that costly and terrible remedy, war?

NORTH.

LETTER FROM A FREEDMAN.

[The following is from a man only a few months free. He works hard while daylight lasts, and his education is pursued when most Northern laboring men are, or should be, asleep.

In his Postscript, he offers to pay for printing his article, but he desires earnestly to show that both reading and writing are within reach of all who, like himself, are determined to possess them.]

Specially to the Anti-Slavery Standard:

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Aug. 1st., 1865.

LAST night was lively time in Court square. The gaurd was terible on the colored people. One colored mens was standing lent again a post, I will declare doing no harms in the world. The gaurd said to the colored man Dam you what you doing here hold oft and nock him severely. And nonther the gaurd nock down fairly, a norther was nock down also, and chasted out side of the square. Two gaurd was after him, and made hold in the pand of his hand by his banet. Colored peple doing no harm.

This eving capers, Aus. 1st., '65.—Nocking colored peple a bout with their guns.

OBITUARY.

DIED, in Hoboken, N. J., 23d July, after a protracted and suffering illness, heroically and sweetly borne, ALBERT, only surviving son of Major and Mrs. Anna Hlasko.

This amiable youth was born at Preisnitz's renowned Water Cure, Graefenberg, but brought to this country at an early age by his parents, who left their native city Vienna, for a home in the freedom of the new world.

Albert won our warm affection and respect during last summer at the Elmira Water Cure, where we made the valued acquaintance of his excellent and interesting mother and himself; enjoying many happy and instructive hours in their agreeable society.

Our interest in Mrs. Hlasko was just awakened by hearing Rev. T. K. Beecher, in a sermon on the duty of parents to provide innocent home recreation for their children, urge them to use the rare opportunity they then had of having them taught the accomplishment of dancing by a noble, refined, conscientious woman.

We grieve most sincerely with her this great bereavement of her joy and her hope—the loss of not only a son but friend and companion, tenderly and dearly beloved.

It was beautiful to see how simply and naturally his mind unfolded to Anti-Slavery truth as a flower does to the light.

"The rose that blooms in Sharon's vale
And scents the purple morning breath,
May with the shades of evening fail,
And bend its crimson head in death.

"So, too, earth's bright ones 'mid the tomb
May like the blushing rose decay,
But still the *mind*, the *mind* shall bloom
When time and nature fade away."

C. F. P.

FOR CIRCULATION.—There are on our shelves some most valuable Tracts for the Times, for these times that are; among which are—Security and Reconciliation for the Future—Propositions and Arguments on the Reorganization of the Rebel States, by Hon. Charles Sumner:

Equality of all Men before the Law Claimed and Defended in addresses by Wendell Phillips, Judge Kelley, and Frederick Douglass:

Reorganization of the Rebel States—Proceedings of great Faneuil Hall Meeting, Boston; Addresses by Hon. Theophilus Parsons, R. H. Dana, Jr., Esqs., Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, S. C. Pomeroy, Esq., and Hon. George B. Loring.

These important Documents can be supplied from Boston on application to Geo. L. Stearns, Esq., in any desired quantity; and may be had also at this office.

OHIO.—Gen. Cox, the Union candidate for Governor of Ohio, has just been giving his views in response to a letter asking his sentiments in regard to negro suffrage, and what disposition shall be made of the black race. This question is assuming, or rather it asserts itself in every discussion concerning the future welfare of the South. After a careful perusal of his letter we confess we can see but little of a high-toned love of liberty about it. Prejudice, and a claimed superiority of the white over the black race, runs through it all. We are sure other and better views must prevail ere this subject is finally settled.

We hope the Republicans and Union men of Ohio, when the time for their political action shall come, will spurn the sentiments of their chosen leader, and join the Christian, humane and common sense people in our land who see no final escape from untold evils except in doing right.—*Roxbury (Mass.) Journal.*

COLORED SCHOOLS IN EASTERN MARYLAND.—A day or two since, in conversation with Mr. Frederick Douglass, (says the Rochester *Express*), we learned that his son, Lewis H. Douglass, was now in Maryland teaching a school of colored people. By a singular coincidence, he is teaching in the same neighborhood where his father was brought up, and finds everywhere reminiscences of his former residence there. The pupils are mainly composed of the children and grandchildren of those with whom he used to associate, while some of the older scholars who attend the evening sessions are the same little boys mentioned in the story of Mr. Douglass's life. Three of the men were his scholars after he had accomplished the perilous feat of learning to read, and endeavoured to impart this power to his fellows. Their pursuit of knowledge under difficulties was broken off by the removal of their teacher and his subsequent escape to the North. The lessons so abruptly terminated are now resumed by Mr. Douglass's son, after an interval of thirty years. In that time slavery has been destroyed in Maryland, and after so many years of unrequited toil these men begin anew that development which the oppression of slavery so long arrested. They were a little older than Douglass, and must now be nearly or quite fifty years old. The fact that in their declining years, they take the first opportunity of learning to read, speaks well for them, and prompts the inquiry, what position these men might have attained if they had not been oppressed during the best years of their life? Thanks to the progress of freedom, their children will pass through life under no such privations as they suffered.

Lewis Douglass writes that the Freedmen are generally anxious that their children shall enjoy the advantages of learning, and his school is fully attended.

VEILED BEAUTY UNVEILING.

[The following is from the Southern Correspondent of the Boston Daily *Advertiser*.]

THE VEIL QUESTION.

WE have heard so much of the bitter resentment of the Southern ladies that the tale becomes stale by frequent repetition. But when inquiring into the feelings of the people, this element must not be omitted. There are certainly a good many sensible women in the South who have arrived at a just appreciation of the circumstances with which they are surrounded. But there is a large number of Southern women who are as vindictive and defiant as ever, and whose temper does not permit them to lay their tongues under any restraint. You can see them in every hotel, and they will treat you to the most ridiculous exhibitions whenever an occasion offers. A day or two ago a Union officer, yielding to an impulse of politeness, handed a dish of pickles to a Southern lady at the dinner table of a hotel in this city. A look of unspeakable scorn and indignation met him. "So you think," said the lady, "a Southern woman will take a dish of pickles from the hand that is dripping with the blood of her countrymen?" It is remarkable upon what trifling material this female wrath is feeding and growing fat. In a certain district in South Carolina the ladies were some time ago, and perhaps are now, dreadfully exercised about the Veil question. You may ask me what the veil question is. Formerly—under the old order of things—negro women were not permitted to wear veils. Now, under the new order of things, a good many are wearing veils. This is an outrage which cannot be submitted to.

The white ladies of that neighborhood agree in being indignant beyond measure. Some of them declare that wherever they meet a colored woman wearing a veil, they will tear the veil from her face. Others, mindful of the consequences which such an act of violence might draw after it under this same new order of things, declare their resolve never to wear veils themselves as long as colored women wear them. That is the Veil question, and this is the way it stands at present.

Such things may seem trifling and ridiculous. But it is a well known fact that a silly woman is sometimes able to exercise a powerful influence over a man not half as silly, and the class of "unconquered" above all is undoubtedly in a great measure composed of individuals that are apt to be influenced by silly women. It has frequently been said that, had it not been for the spirit of Southern women, the rebellion would have broken down long ago, and there is, no doubt, a grain of truth in it. The same spirit of the female part of the community, although undoubtedly at present much less powerful in a quantitative sense, is now contributing to keep those bitter feelings alive, which as long as kept under a sufficient control, may be harmless and gradually die away, but which, if permanently relieved of that control, may lead to serious conflicts.

Summary.

THE ugliest piece of furniture in the eyes of a friend of slavery is the Freedman's Bureau.

THE Emperor Francis Joseph, of Austria, has submitted to his popular assembly a law giving the women of his empire a right to vote.

A GENTLEMAN who has travelled through Iowa lately says that there are at least 20,000 returned solders at work in that State helping to save the harvest. He saw hardly an idle soldier in the State.

WE lately met a grammarian, says a California paper, who has just made a tour through the mines, conjugating, or rather cogitating, thus: "Positive, mine; comparative, miner; superlative, minus!"

IN a number of counties of North Carolina, delegates to the State Convention have been instructed to take the position that slavery must be left where it was before the war, and that the State would stultify itself by accepting the Constitutional Amendment.

THE Springfield *Republican* says there is an unusual scarcity of servant girls in that city, and recommends the Freedmen's Bureau to send colored girls to supply the deficiency.

THE strongest man has just been heard of. He was lecturing to a female assembly in the West, and an editor describes the scene thus:

"Three thousand ladies hanging on the lips of one man."

THE total number of Indians who are on the war-path against the whites in the far West is estimated at 25,000. Gen. Dodge, who commands our forces in that region, left Fort Leavenworth on the 3d inst. for Fort Kearney and Fort Lamarie.

THE *Banker's Magazine* for July contains a list of 222 savings banks in the six States of New England, and 73 in the city and State of New York, with the amount of deposits and number of depositors in each of those 295 institutions; the aggregate deposits being in the New England States $119,793,425, making together $231,176,366, which is more than the savings deposits in all Great Britian, and more than in the remainder of the United States.

THE SOUTHERN CLERGY.—The clergymen (says the *Independent Democrat*) of the South constitute, at present, the most rampantly secesh element in that section. They refuse to pray for the Government of the United States, and it is stated that President Johnson has said that he has no idea of "running the churches," in that "sunny land," and that the ministers can therefore go ahead and pray for what and whom they please.

CLOSING OF THE COLORED SCHOOLS IN RICHMOND.—All of the colored schools in the city have been closed. Up to the 1st inst., classes for the older persons assembled in the various churches, and there from 7 o'clock till 10 in the evening, were to be found old, grey heads, plodding over the A. B. C. syllables, and reading, intent upon acquiring sufficient knowledge of letters to be able to read understandingly their Bibles. The average attendance of these schools has been over 540; the improvement marked.

FREEDMEN IN MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS.—A recent letter received at the Freedmen's Bureau from Brig.-Gen. Sprague, Assistant Commissioner for the States of Missouri and Arkansas, says that not a dozen freedmen west of Little Rock in the latter State are receiving aid from the Government, and that all are supporting themselves by their own labor. It also represents a large quantity of abandoned land in Arkansas, but a small proportion of which has been taken possession of by the Government.

SOUTHERN FEELING.—The Vermont *Chronicle* says: Dr. Edwards, of the Methodist Church, South, is reported to have denied a Methodist chaplain the use of his pulpit, assigning as a reason: "the chasm between us and the Church North is too great to be bridged over. I fully and sacredly believe in the divinity of slavery; and if I were to be called before my judge, Jesus Christ, the next hour, I would, without any mental reservation whatever, preach the divinity of slavery. It has its divine sanction in the Holy Scriptures." During the whole conversation, Dr. Edwards manifested an intensely bitter spirit toward the whole North.

THE *Evening Press* of this city has a sensible article on "Women's Dress." It insists that the expensive and perpetual varying array of the ladies is not agreeable either to the judgment, the taste, the feelings or the pockets of the other sex; and it concludes with the suggestion that women's fashions are decidedly anti-angelic. All the angels whom we have ever seen portrayed says the editor, "were attired with extreme simplicity." All this is most demonstrably true. As to the closing remark particularly—what should we say of *angels* flaunting out after the style of the fashion-plates in Godey or Madame Demorest—and requiring from six to twenty dresses a week at that? Fallen angels, we should think—not in *cost*—however!

WHEN I lived among the Choctaw Indians (says a traveller), I held consultation with one of their chiefs respecting the stages of their progress in the arts of civilized life, and among other things he informed me that at their start they made a great mistake—they only sent their boys to school. These boys came home intelligent men, but they married uneducated and uncivilized wives; and the uniform result was, the children were all like their mothers. The father soon lost all his interest both in wife and children. And now, said he, if we would educate but one class of our children, we should choose the girls, for when they become mothers, they educate their sons. This is the point, and it is true. No nation can become fully enlightened when mothers are not qualified to discharge the duties of the home work of education. Parents, give your daughters, as well as your sons, the best education in your power.

THE SLAVES OF BRAZIL.—There are at present, the Paris *Debats* remarks, but two countries in the world claiming the designation of Christian in which slavery still exists. Forty years back England freed herself from that dreadful leprosy; in 1848 France followed the example; the United States and Holland have now done the same; so that Spain and Brazil are the only slaveholding nations. The institution of slavery is now so universally reprobated in all civilized States that the two countries just named must, before long, yield to the current and proclaim emancipation. But which of the two will take the lead? Our cotemporary is of opinion that it will be Brazil, recent events in that country indicating that a strong feeling against slavery is making itself felt there, inasmuch as movements in the Brazilian Senate, looking to the extinction of the curse, have already taken place.

INTELLIGENT NEGROES.—A correspondent of the Newark (N. J.) *Advertiser*, describing the season at Lake George, says that at one of the hotels the servants' department is filled with colored men, neatly uniformed with white jackets, and every one skilled in his business. One of the best vocal and instrumental serenades ever heard was got up by them one mellow moonlight night, in front of the hotel. During an afternoon stroll in a wood adjoining the lake, four colored men were seen writing, three reading and one sketching the scenery. In answer to an inquiry one of them replied, that out of forty or fifty waiters employed in the hotel, every one could read, and, with one exception, all could write! Can you find the same number of white servants in any hotel in Saratoga or New York equally intelligent and educated? or better fitted to exercise the elective franchise?

[A WRITER from Raleigh sends us this, dated July 27.]

A colored man named Curry, formerly a slave in Pearson County, who ran away some 20 years ago and took refuge in Canada, subsequently returning and living in the State of New York, recently came down here via Petersburg, if possible to find his family and remove them North.

Curry had scarcely got into his own neighborhood before he was waited upon by some of the chivalry, who roughly demanded to know whose nigger he was. His answer was, "I am no man's nigger. I am a free citizen of the United States." Hereupon he was collared, dragged from the house, beaten with violence over the head with a heavy stick, which laid open his scalp and otherwise maltreated. He contrived to get away from the assailants and ran, when they attempted to shoot him, bursting two or three gun-caps, which fortunately failed to explode the charge, to which he no doubt owed his life.

Curry came to Raleigh and reported the case to Maj.-Gen. A. Ames, who *listened attentively* to the complaint, took the names of the parties charged with the assault, and then dispatched a squad of cavalry to the place where the assault was committed to arrest the parties. They arrived here yesterday in charge of the cavalry-men, and were placed under guard to await examination.

The same evening Gen. Ames received a letter from Gov. Holden stating in substance that he had heard of the arrest and detention of certain citizens of Pearson County by Gen. Ames; that he, the Governor, had appointed justices of the peace, and other officers for the trial and settlement of conflicts arising in that county, and assuming that *justice* will in all cases be done by the said officers, requests that the prisoners be *remanded to their custody*. Meantime Curry has been charged with assault upon somebody, and the officers of justice claimed and have arrested him for trial before them in Pearson county.

A case has been undergoing investigation here before a military commission, in which a white man is charged with shooting a negro.

In this case the civil authority has assumed to step in and take direction of the trial and dictate proceedings in the matter of evidence, etc. Mr. Bat. Moore, it is said, is preparing to make a defense of the accused. The military, so far as I can ascertain, are disposed to yield, except in Gen. Ames's case, who claims and intends to hold the custody of the assailants of Curry, and have them tried by military commission, unless overruled by military authority.

There are disturbing cases, but these suffice to show a tendency to a conflict between the civil and military prerogative, in the attempt to carry on both in the same State.

A NOVEL AND NOTEWORTHY SCHEME.—The Legislature took no practical action upon the suggestions of Gov. Andrew in regard to the surplus women of Massachusetts, but in other quarters more nearly interested what was said on the subject was listened to with genuine interest. In Washington Territory, one of the most fertile and promising regions on the Pacific coast, there are eight thousand single women. The executive authorities of the territory, resolved that such a lamentable state of affairs should not continue, have despatched to the East Hon. A. S. Mercer, to promote the emigration of young women to their benighted shores. Mr. Mercer has been busy, has consulted with the authorities at Washington, with Gov. Andrew, and with other gentlemen interested in philanthropic schemes, and his efforts, thus far, have resulted most satisfactorily.

Mr. Mercer now announces that he will transport from New York to Washington Territory, free of all charge except the fare across the isthmus, three hundred widows and orphans of Union soldiers who have fallen during the war. He will accept only passengers whose good conduct is vouched for by responsible references. The steamer provided for the occasion is safe, swift and commodious, and good berths and fare will be provided free. Those accepting Mr. Mercer's invitation will be guaranteed respectable employment at a good salary of at least $4 a week from their arrival, as long as they choose to avail themselves of it. The party will sail from New York on the 22d of August, so that it will be well for those thinking favorably of this remarkable offer to take steps to accept it at once. Mr. Mercer may be addressed at the Merchants' Hotel, Courtlandt street, New York, or by persons in this vicinity at Lowell.—*Boston Daily Advertiser.*

A WRITER from Fayetteville, North Carolina, writes to the *Tribune* under date July 21st: Since the withdrawal of the troops, the civil officers appointed by Gov. Holden have assumed entire control of their own affairs. A Board of Commissioners, with the Mayor, Mr. McLane, at their head, takes care of municipal and county affairs. During a long and pleasant interview with the Mayor he informed me that affairs were progressing peaceably, nothing in the shape of crime, beyond petty offences common at all times, having arisen.

There had been rumors that the colored troops would be sent from Wilmington to garrison the place, but he did not believe them, as there was no need of troops. If affairs continued as quiet as they now promised, he expressed the belief that in a short time the *good* citizens would begin to emulate one another in efforts of kindness and good will toward the freedmen. The thought is creditable to the heart of Mr. McLane, whatever may happen. He seems a kind and liberal gentleman, as does also Mr. Starr, the head of the Board of Commissioners and late Acting Mayor.

Mr. Starr informed me that many people from the country, not seeming to understand the new order of things, had applied to him for authority to bring back by force children or families which had left their plantations. In all such cases he had cited the orders of Gen. Howard and Gen. Schofield, and required a conformity thereto, telling the late masters the black man and woman were now as free as himself, and could not be *forced* to stay and work against their will, neither driven away without equitable compensation for their labor. Still, complaints were frequent, I learned, of harsh and cruel treatment by plantation owners, at points not so distant as to make it difficult to hear from them. The still refractory class, which is not the large majority, seem determined not to accept *the fact of freedom;* to work their former slaves without making any contract, and in many cases whipping, maiming and other compulsory measures are adopted to keep the freedmen and their families *in bondage.*

Special Notices.

THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for August: Heads—Good and Bad; Our Leading Generals—Wm. T. Sherman; Energy and Perseverance; Sir William Hamilton on Phrenology; Education as it should be; Marriages of Consanguinity; Little Folks; Hints on Dress; Cheerful Christians; Arts of Beauty; Hints for Wives; Love of Home; Our Girls; Selecting Companions; Betrayed; A Frenchman on the English; Henry C. Carey; Herbert Spencer, his Life, Character, and Works; The Shakers; Poor Relations; Mrs. Sigourney; Nathaniel Marsh; Bowen Mill; Architecture, etc. In all, 25 illustrations, by first post, 20 cents; six months, $1; or, a year for $2. Newsmen have it. Address FOWLER & WELLS, No. 389 Broadway, N. Y. 2t

MR. LOUIS NAPOLEON, the carrier of THE STANDARD, is authorized by the Board of Trustees of the A. M. E. Zion's Church in Williamsburg, to solicit aid to pay the balance due on our church. It cost $3,000, and we have paid $1,000. We now ask assistance from the generous public, and will be thankful for any aid that may be rendered. In behalf of the Board of Trustees, JAMES SEAMAN, Pres't.

SAMUEL MANNING, Sec'y.

N. B. Money may be left at the Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman st., N. Y. 1t

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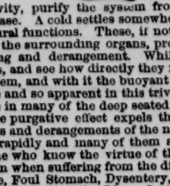
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THE STANDARD.

CELEBRATION OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

On the 1st of August, as usual, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society called together the friends of freedom to celebrate the anniversary of the emancipation of West Indian slaves in 1834, by the British Government. They assembled in good numbers, both from the Boston and Plymouth sides, and the weather for their purpose was all that could be desired.

Rev. Samuel May called the meeting to order, and proposed the following list of officers for its acceptance:

President—Elbridge Sprague, of Abington.

Secretaries—Jas. M. W. Yerrinton, Charles K. Whipple.

Finance Committee—Robert F. Wallcut, Briggs Arnold, Samuel Dyer, N. B. Spooner, J. G. Dodge.

The vote being called for, these officers were unanimously chosen.

Mr. Sprague, President of the meeting, having taken the chair, prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Tomlinson, of Plymouth.

Speech of Rev. Samuel May.

The first of August has been a Saint's day with the anti-slavery people of America for full thirty years past, being observed by them more uniformly and generally than in England itself. The time has not quite come yet for us to discontinue its observance. As commemorative of a most auspicious event in the history of freedom, an event fraught with lessons of the greatest importance and interest to us in America at this immediate juncture, it yet has high claims upon us, and comes powerfully to our aid. Our people are not yet all anti-slavery, although the great majority of them are so, never to be flattered or driven into the recognition of slavery again. But, nationally considered, many questions raised by the anti-slavery movement of thirty years past are not yet settled,—even the chief of them all, the abolition and prohibition of slavery throughout the land forever, by Constitutional Amendment, is not yet finally determined, although morally sure.

In past years, we have been taught and encouraged by the successes of emancipation in the British West India islands. For, notwithstanding the unfavorable and hostile influences under which that "experiment" was made (for an *experiment* the world generally regarded it), every candid mind has admitted that, as a humane measure, as a social and economical reform, as a triumph of justice and right over cruelty, barbarism and crime, it has been a perfect success. I shall not dwell upon the facts in detail which prove these results. Let all who desire to see the subject treated by a writer quite free from any anti-slavery bias, and giving the facts from personal and careful observation, consult the "ordeal of free labor in the British West Indies," by W. G. Sewell of New York, and he will find material for a satisfactory moral judgment of the case, as well as for the more "commercial" one which Mr. Sewell chiefly undertakes to give. The "experiment" has been successful, and acknowledged to be so by intelligent planters and candid witnesses in the islands themselves, men originally bitterly opposed to the measure. For nearly thirty years past the Abolitionists of this country have been wont to gather up these facts and evidences, and present them in their meetings and publications, though for a long, long period scarcely a press in the land, and very few pulpits, gave the slightest aid to their diffusion.

To-day, we have little reason to go to the West India islands, or anywhere out of our own country, for an example of the happy and prosperous working of emancipation. Our Nation has tried for itself the *experiment* on a grander scale, and (I am fain to think) on a more just and comprehensive basis than any other nation has done. And there are none so blinded, among patriotic and humane people, as to deny the immensely valuable results, in every direction, already accomplished by our emancipation measures, incomplete as they yet are.

We look to West India emancipation with another object to-day. It yet has its lessons to teach us. But whereas heretofore we have been taught and stimulated by its grand idea and its essential success—to-day we should take warning by its mistakes, and consequent partial failures. For we may well believe that emancipation, when conducted by a monarchical government, would not be as likely to be placed on the broad basis of equal human rights, as when undertaken and organised in a republic, where its operations should be set in motion by the genius of a free and equal people, determined that there shall be no aristocracies, no privileged orders, no master-class, but everywhere, in accordance with the Declaration of July 4, 1776, entire equality of all before the law. Now there is precisely that difference between the British emancipation of August 1, 1834, and the American emancipation of our day so gloriously commenced, and whose results, daily becoming more encouraging, are doubtless to grow brighter, until the full day of justice to all men in our land has come. Even British emancipation would not have been secured when it was but for the existence of a powerful religious democracy, if I may call it so, in England, which extorted emancipation from a reluctant government and a selfish and obstinate aristocracy. Even when granted, it was impaired first by the imposition of a heavy tax of twenty millions of pounds sterling, as "compensation" to the planters, for a loss which really was no loss to any who accepted it in an intelligent and liberal spirit; it was fettered in most of the colonies by the wretched *apprenticeship* system; and from first to last it has been hindered, and as far as possible thwarted, by artful contrivances on the part of the masters to retain their power in fact, even though they might have lost it in form. All these things conspire to show that the slaveholder, even after emancipation has taken his slave from him, CANNOT BE TRUSTED with the care and duty of educating and elevating his former dependants, and doing them justice. In the British West Indies, stipendary magistrates, appointed to oversee the workings of emancipation, too often inclined to take the masters' view of questions arising, and under the "apprenticeship" cruel and severe punishments continued to be the rule rather than the exception. No "Bureau of Freedmen" was established by the British government; no corps of watchful officers at all considerable points protected the rights of the freed people; no company of teachers went forth from the old country to carry instruction, sympathy, and assurance of protection to the long-degraded and defrauded slaves. They were FREE! a blessed gift, received by them with the most simple and touching gratitude to God, and used by them with prevailing good sense, good order, and self-respect. But the amount of sincere help and encouragement to self-improvement which they have had is small. A few noble men, like the Rev. Henry Bleby of Barbadoes, who visited us some years ago, and spoke to us one first of August beneath these very trees, have stood faithfully by them, and by example and precept furnished the friendly counsel and help which might be needed. But it was comparatively little that such could do against the combined power of a class long used to mastership, and determined to keep their old laborers dependent and subject. Accordingly, it has happened, that in the thirty-one years since West India emancipation was decreed, the educational advancement of the freed people there has been but small, and their influence in civil and social matters scarcely appreciable. Emancipation found the colored population of Jamaica, and of the other British W. I. colonies, in a state of gross ignorance; and the education of this mass of people, as we have been recently told on good authority, "has been all but totally neglected by the legislature of Jamaica." That colony has lately expended for a prison $200,000, and the prison system of the island is maintained at an annual cost of $100,000. But for popular education, in a population of half a million, only $20,000 per annum is voted. The result is, that "the great bulk of the black people of Jamaica are, as regards mental culture, in a state but little removed from that in which slavery left them thirty years ago; that only two blacks have ever sat in the legislature of the colony; that, out of the hundreds of magistrates on the island, there are not more than four black men holding commissions of the peace; that among the ninety-odd ministers of the established church in the island there is only one black minister—and he is said to be without an incumbency—and in the civil service of the colony only a single negro, and he holding only the subordinate post of tide-waiter in the custom-house." The same legislature which appropriates only $20,000 yearly for all public schools, raises $200,000 yearly by taxation for the church-establishment—a church to which only about one-fourth of the population belongs. "The blacks are nearly all dissenters from the church of the island," and contribute handsomely to the maintenance of their own churches and ministers,—yet are taxed besides to support the church of the wealthy class! Such is the chivalry and magnanimity and sense of honor of a class long used to slavery, and bent on maintaining its mastery over the laboring class! Let us beware!

It is even more instructive and more full of warning to note how the civil and electoral rights of the freed population of the West India islands have been dealt with. "Shortly after emancipation took place, an election law was passed by the Jamaica Legislature, giving the elective franchise to owners of freeholds of the annual value of six pounds sterling and upwards (about $30). Under that law a considerable number of the freed blacks became entitled to vote; but as the negro in numerous instances showed quite a disposition to think and act for himself as a voter, or at any rate to follow other leaders than the men of the old dominant party, it was discovered that the law was a great deal too liberal, and after various other attempts, the happy expedient was hit upon of *imposing a tax on the suffrage*, besides retaining the property qualification for it. This tax is two dollars and a half a year, in addition to any other taxes which a man may have to pay. But mark the unblushing meanness of the matter. All persons paying taxes to the amount of seven dollars and a half, and upwards, are exempted from the tax on the elective franchise. So it happens that the voting tax falls exclusively on the poorer class, and the wealthy and well-to-do are relieved from it entirely! A more barefaced and iniquitous evasion of law and justice it would be difficult to imagine. The result of this legislation has been to render popular representation in Jamaica a mockery and a delusion. There are several parishes of that island, numbering respectively a population of 25,000 to 30,000 souls, whose voting-lists show only 30 or 40 registered voters. The whole number of registered voters in the island is but two thousand; and that, remember, in a population of half a million."—*See The Nation*, No. 1.

Very differently has our American "experiment" been commenced. At the first tidings of the downfall of slavery on the shores of Chesapeake Bay and the Port Royal islands, teachers and friends made ready in New England, in the Middle and North-western States, to go at once to the emancipated and give them the welcoming hand to freedom. They have gone all over the South and South-west, and still they go, instructing the children everywhere, and teaching to the adults invaluable lessons of self-respect, independence, and industrious enterprise. The school-house is set up. The voices of school children make sweet music in the ears of teachers, and of parents scarce able yet to comprehend the good that has come to them. Savings' banks are instituted; and the people who came out of slavery two years ago, ragged and penniless, have now, in numerous cases, comfortable homes, and money laid up in these banks. The Nation has called the freedmen into its armies, and they have proved themselves brave, efficient and excellent soldiers. The government has declared them citizens—a decision which the Supreme Court of the land will abundantly sustain if it should ever be made a question. President Lincoln, in his thoughtful, cautious, and statesmanlike way, for which we can never too much honor his memory, laid the foundations of their liberty deep and strong. President Johnson thoroughly understands the old slaveholders of the South, knows them to be the enemies of the Republic, and has suffered in himself, in his family, and has seen others suffer from their selfish, oppressive, and cruel policy. He bravely withstood and resisted them in his own State and in the Senate of the United States—before the war, and during the war. He is not the man to restore to their hands the power they have so infamously abused, and which had righteously been taken from them by the war. True there are some discouraging appearances now, and an active imagination may conjure up others, which we trust will never have a real existence. There are individual cases of suffering and wrong among the freedmen which excite the liveliest indignation. But the weight of the facts and the evidence is on the other side. President Johnson has given the seceding States the opportunity to take, manfully and voluntarily, if they will, an honest position in a restored and free Union. If they will not, but shall still evince a rebellious and oppressive purpose, doubt not that he will "apply the brakes" before it is too late. To suppose that he can or will be guilty of the treachery which some few are ready to charge upon him is too monstrous. Let us not hastily yield to such suspicions, or withdraw our support from those whose past course has earned a right to our confidence. Nor yet let us give that confidence blindly. The government must know the opinions, convictions, and determinations of the people. There is danger, but the danger will best be averted by working in a generous and hopeful spirit.

But I must close, and would say in closing that the great and uniform lesson we learn from West India emancipation is that slaveholders *cannot be trusted* with the rights and welfare of their former slaves. They are, at the best, biassed by self-interest and by old prejudices; and in too many instances are ready to wreak their own rebel spite and mortification on the heads of their unoffending laborers. False to the country, false to their own oaths, lost to every sense of manly obligation, such men are utterly unfit to hold any trust or exercise any power; and it will be the extremest cruelty, as well as the basest desertion of our best friends, if we suffer the freed people of the South to fall into their hands. It must not be so. No words can represent too strongly the doom which our Nation will deserve, and which God's inevitable judgments will bring upon us, if we now desert and betray these humble yet faithful friends of our country into the merciless hands of that country's worst enemies. May our hands forget their cunning, and our tongues cleave to the roof of our mouths, if we forget these people in their need, who never forgot us nor our suffering sons and brothers in our sore need. Let us refuse to build our national house by any wrong. Let us not suffer venal and corrupt Northern demagogues, combining with Southern rebels, to cheat us of the glorious results of a true republicanism, for which our people have paid so vast a price. *Education* is the first necessity now, and that must continue to be furnished freely by thousands of Northern hearts and hands, with the help and protection of the United States Government. *Citizenship*—the right to participate in making the laws under which they live, and to be defended in all personal and social rights precisely as other citizens are—this is the next necessity, and equal to the other. *Education and citizenship for all*, without distinction of color or of race—and not less for the Nation's safety than for the freedman's—this must be our motto, whether as just men, or true patriots, or wise builders of our country's future. So shall we best honor this great anniversary of freedom, making it a help and a power in securing one for our own land, more complete and more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of humanity and justice. So, too, shall we best pay back—at least in part—to the noble company of workers for freedom in the Old World, the debt we have owed them so long; and show to all mankind an example, in full and honorable success, of a republic based on "these self-evident truths, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an INALIENABLE RIGHT to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

The Trimountain Glee Club, a quartette of excellent singers connected with the Trimountain Ball Club, who had kindly given their services for this occasion, were then called upon by the President, and sung the beautiful piece entitled—"There's music in the air."

Henry C. Wright then spoke on the ballot.

The majority of the nation, he said, represented the people, and that majority could be ascertained only by the ballot. That was the sole pivot on which this government turned. The ballot was the democratic symbol of sovereignty, and meant absolute, supreme, uncontrolled, irresponsible power in the hands of man over man. Everything that was done by the government of this nation was done by the voter, and on the soul of the voter rested the responsibility.

This being the case, the question was who should use the ballot. The right of suffrage was not a natural right at all. It was a mere conventional right, bestowed by the State, and only by the State. So said every State Constitution, and so said the Federal Constitution. The question arose, shall the white man, because he is white, be allowed to vote, and the black man, because he is black, be disfranchised? He believed that nothing could save the nation if it persisted in disfranchising the black man because of his color. Should a man, because he was a man and not a woman, be allowed to vote? No; this was usurpation. It was just as great a crime, in his opinion, for a man to claim the right to vote because he was a man and not a woman, as it was for him to claim the right to vote because he was white and not black. Every argument in favor of negro suffrage that could possibly be produced was of equal force in favor of the right of woman to the ballot. Looking at the condition and destiny of this republic, he ventured the prediction, that unless the ballot was put into the hands of the intelligence and virtue of the country, of whatever color or sex, the republic was doomed to certain destruction.

Mr. Wright said he hoped the day would come when neither the drunkard nor the drunkard-maker would be allowed to vote. Should a man in a beastly state of intoxication, he asked, be allowed to reel up to the polls, and decide by his ballot the destiny of the nation? He thought, also, that the man who would make merchandise of the ballot, and sell his vote for so much rum or so many dollars, or such a fat office, ought not to be allowed to vote. These questions must be looked at, and the country must speak out on them, or we were lost.

The ballot was now needed to complete the work that the bullet had begun, and the question was, shall we put the ballot into the hands of those who have wielded the bullet against the government, and who have been conquered in their effort to destroy the nation, and refuse it to those who have saved the nation by the bullet? It might be that for a time the people would refuse the ballot to the negro, out of deference to the prejudices of the traitors; but the day would come when they would be obliged to put the ballot into the negro's hand, to save the nation from a deadlier war than that through which it had just passed.

The simple question to-day was between democracy and aristocracy. The recent war originated in an abuse of the ballot—the refusal of the minority to submit to the majority; and what was needed was that everywhere throughout the land should be held up the fundamental democratic principle, the duty of the minority to submit to the rule of the majority. The practical duty of the hour was to bring a power to bear upon Congress that should influence them to refuse to admit a State into the Union on the principle of white sovereignty.

Charles L. Remond said he agreed with Mr. Wright so far as the great question of the hour was concerned—the ballot; but he was frank to say that he expected our country and our cause would be saved before every man and woman should be made virtuous or made temperate. He regretted the extreme ground taken by Mr. Wright, because it seemed to him that he (Mr. W.) defeated his own object, and that his remarks, instead of creating enthusiasm in the audience, were calculated to depress by the suggestion that there was a work to be performed which could not be accomplished in the lifetime of this generation.

The Glee Club then sang "Wake, Nicodemus," to the great amusement of the audience, who testified their pleasure by hearty applause.

At the conclusion of the song, a recess was taken for dinner.

Afternoon Session.

After an hour spent in pic-nicing, in participation in the various amusements offered to the pleasure-seeker, and in social intercourse, the company again assembled at the stand, and speaking was resumed.

John Wetherbee, Jr., Esq., of Boston, was the first speaker. He commenced by referring to the prospect before us in regard to reconstruction, and alluded to the danger of attempting to settle matters upon any other basis than that of justice and righteousness. In order that our country should be happy and prosperous, he said, it was necessary that the negro should have all the rights of a man and a citizen. He thought it would be a burning shame to take the shackles off the negro and say to him, "You are free!" and then leave him in the hands of those people against whom he had fought, entirely disfranchised, and with no right to a voice in the Government. The needle of the negro had invariably pointed, during the last four years, without any variation in his compass, to the Union and Union men; and if to-day it was customary, as it was at one time in Rome, for each citizen to utter the sentiment which was most important as bearing upon the affairs of the nation, every sympathetic man would utter this word first, "The negro shall be, in every sense of the word, a citizen!" He was very happy to see that the people were beginning to feel it so; and that, too, outside of the special ranks of the Abolitionists. Still, he felt it to be their duty to urge the nation forward in that direction. He was one of those who did not believe that Wendell Phillips, when he went to Cleveland last year, made a mistake. He believed that Convention did good, and that the Republican platform was lifted some degrees in consequence of that meeting; and to-day, the duty of anti-slavery people was to utter their voice, as educators, and it would have an effect. He believed there was something in the anti-slavery party that was important as an organization. He believed in organizations, for he knew it was impossible for individuals to do what people could do in an organized body; and he thanked God and took courage that the Anti-Slavery Society did not dissolve last Spring. He wanted that Society to exist, because of its prestige. It had prophesied truly, and when the anti-slavery party, in their incarnation, or in their body politic, uttered a sentiment, that sentiment became a prophecy; the people felt that it would come true. They felt just exactly as the poet expresses it:

> "'Tis the sunset of life brings us mystical lore,
> And coming events cast their shadows before."

Agitation would prevent all the trouble that was now anticipated.

In conclusion, Mr. Wetherbee quoted a toast said to have been given by John Quincy Adams, many years ago: "Our country, may she ever be successful! But, whether successful or unsuccessful, may she ever be right!" Thank God, said Mr. Wetherbee, in this particular case *right* and *success* mean one and the same thing.

Speech of Rev. Nathaniel Colver.

Rev. Nathaniel Colver, of Chicago, was the next speaker. He said he felt like rejoicing on this occasion. When he looked back over the past twenty years, and saw what God had wrought, his heart swelled, and he was filled with gratitude. He remembered when it was very dark, and when it seemed as if the heavens were shut down all around; but there was light from the skies.

He desired to bring forward some of the lessons to be learned from emancipation in the West Indies. The Government of Great Britain was entitled to no credit for that emancipation; it came through the struggles of a few individuals, who labored in the cause of human rights. Clarkson and Wilberforce, and Wm. Knibb, and their co-laborers, kept the light shining in the midst of a corrupt generation, until England gave freedom to her slaves. In 1840, he was in London, and saw a number of people from Jamaica, and learned the condition of things in that island. The slaveholders were unwilling to let their victims go, and did them all the harm they could. So it would be in this country. The legislature of Jamaica passed a law providing that if any colored man was found on the highway over night, he should be put in prison as a vagrant, and sold to work out his fine. The negroes were living in cabins owned by their former masters, and they could reduce their wages as low as they pleased, turn them out of their cabins, and then have them arrested and sold under the law. There were other laws terribly oppressive to the blacks; and when he was in London he signed a petition to the Queen, asking her to refuse her sanction to those laws. The petition, which was of great length, was placed in the hands of Lord Brougham for presentation, and he said, "There is one name at the top; cut off all the rest, and send it in." The suggestion was complied with, and the petition was successful. That one name was Thomas Clarkson—potent then, but which for years had been spurned and trodden under foot by the aristocracy and governing classes of Great Britain.

The friends of the colored man in the West Indies had to stand by him after his bonds were stricken off by law, and see that he had his rights. The slaveholders had no notion of giving up their victims. Politicians could not be relied upon to carry out the behests of freedom, and their old friends had to stand the guardians of the freedmen. The three hundred thousand slaveholders of the South, whose victims had been plucked out of their hands, did not mean to give them up. They would crush the blacks, unless the anti-slavery friends stood their guardians. They must still tie the crushed black man to them as their brother, and stand by him until his freedom was assured.

Another fact was developed by emancipation in the British West Indies, and that was, that freedom is not the only thing the slave needs. Who were the freed slaves? Poor, crushed human beings; ignorant, untaught; their bodies developed, but their souls stultified. Here and there a colored man would stand up a prodigy of mental strength and vigor, but this was the exception. The colored man, like the white man, was the creature of circumstances, to a great extent. Bring up the children of white men as the children of slaves are brought up, and he did not know that they would be any worse, but they would be just as bad as black children. The fact was, that there was a departure from virtue among the colored people of Jamaica that was alarming, and it had held them in degradation ever since. So it was with the liberated millions of the South. They were crushed, degraged, ignorant; and it would be but a wretched boon to give them freedom, unless something else was given with it. They must have light and knowledge.

He differed from Mr. Wright in regard to the ballot. He believed that the right of suffrage was inherent in every man and woman, and that the business of every community was, not to give that right, but to guard it sacredly. The crushed bondmen at the South had this right, but they must have something besides this. Manhood must be restored to them. The wretched bondman must be lifted up, and taught what his rights are; and this would be the labor of years.

Then the white men of the South must be taken care of. It was more work for England to take care of the whites of Jamaica, after emancipation took place, than it was to take care of the blacks. The whites of the South were on our hands, thousands of them as imbecile as infants. They would kick and bite, and the question was what should be done with them. He did not believe there would be any sweet peace in the country until the larger part of them were dead; and they would waste away amazing fast. The whites of the South were in a position to do us more harm than the blacks could, and if they were not saved, they would ruin us. God had opened all this immense field to us, and we had got to meet these issues.

In conclusion, Mr. Colver said that while the names of those through whose instrumentality British emancipation was achieved were remembered with honor, the names of those who had breasted the storm in this country should not be forgotten. He loved the name of Wm. Lloyd Garrison: and when the names of political traitors had gone to rot, that name would stand high and never be forgotten. The nation owed him, and the men who stood with him, a debt of infinite gratitude. I am glad to meet you here to-day, said Mr. C. It does my old heart good. It carries me back to the time when we were struggling together in Massachusetts, and met with but little favor, except from on high. Oh, there was light up there! Blessed be the name of God forever and ever for the emancipation in which we rejoice to-day!

Mr. May stated that the Finance Committee would now enter upon the discharge of their duty, and urged the importance of liberal contributions, not only to defray the expenses of the meeting, but to assist in the general operations of the Massachusetts Society.

Speech of Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper.

Mrs. F. E. W. Harper then addressed the audience. She said it was interesting to mark the rise and progress of any reform which had for its object the welfare and happiness of mankind, and proceeded to sketch, briefly, but in an interesting manner, the efforts for the suppression of the African slave trade, and then for the abolition of slavery itself, which have resulted in the utter extinction of the infamous system among the nations of Europe, and all, or nearly all, their colonies in America, and in this country, to a very large extent, with the prospect of its entire annihilation at no distant day. This is the Lord's doings, said Mrs. H., and marvellous in our eyes. The Bible told of a man who built his house upon the sand, and when the floods descended, and the winds came, it fell, and great was the fall thereof. But the slaveholders, rebels against justice and humanity, built not only upon the sand but over the crater of God's wrath—over the magazine of Divine retribution; and to-day the colored people stood, as a race, newly anointed with freedom. Looking beyond the life of the individual to the life of the race, she was not hopeless of the future of the negro. She found at the South three classes: the scum of society, the dregs of society, and the colored man. By the scum of society she meant such men as Jefferson Davis, Hunter, Beauregard and the other leaders of the rebellion. Where were they to-day? Scattered by the whirlwind of the living God. Some were looking out through prison bars, some were exiles, and some were in the surest and safest place for all rebels—the grave. By the dregs of society she meant the poor white of the South, who saw his brother stricken down and consented to the wrong. The paramount idea of President Johnson, if she understood him right, was to elevate this mass of poor whites. She thought he was right in this; but she would tell him that between the poor white men and the poor black men of the South there was a community of interest. If legislation degraded the labor of the black man, the white man also would be degraded. God had linked the two races together, and when the South pressed the slave beneath the burden of his chains, she placed a weight upon her bosom which crippled her moral power and paralyzed her spiritual energies.

Mrs. Harper said that what she asked of the American people was, that if they could not get indemnity for the past, they should have security for the future. How was that security for the future to be obtained? By disfranchising the colored man—by putting him at the feet of every whitewashed rebel who called himself loyal? Was it not madness and folly for a nation to sacrifice its interest to its prejudices? She was not able to argue the question of suffrage with Mr. Wright, but she believed it was generally conceded that men had the right of self-defence, and the ballot was the means of self-defence to the negro against the malice of his oppressors.

The lesson of this hour was, simply, that justice is the right of every race. The humblest and meanest child of the living God was linked to the throne of the Eternal Father with such strong but invisible ties, that if they were rudely jarred upon earth, they would tremble around the Throne. (Loud applause.)

Mr. May stated that a letter had been received from Hon. N. H. Whiting, who had been expected to speak, but found himself unable to address an out-door meeting; and, on motion of Mr. Foss, it was voted that the letter be published with the proceedings of the meeting.

LETTER FROM HON. N. H. WHITING.

Marshfield, July 30, 1865.

Charles K. Whipple, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* When I saw you in Boston a few days ago, I gave you permission to advertise me as one of the possible speakers at the celebration of Emancipation in the West Indies, which you propose to hold at Abington on the 1st of August. As the time approaches, I find that my health and voice are not sufficient to justify me in the attempt to speak in the open air; and, as the best substitute I can offer, I send you on paper the substance of what might have been said in speech, had the "Divinity that shapes our ends" made time and circumstance of that complexion.

The auspicious event in the world's progress which we have commemorated now for many years, has, at last, been overshadowed, and, at least partially, eclipsed by the great deliverance which the stern necessities of war have wrought in these terrible four years, for black men, and for white men as well. The sterling apothegm of our martyr President, "If slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong," was affirmed of a system which rests on the monstrous postulate that there is, or may be, something in a man—everything, indeed, that makes him a sentient, reasoning, producing creature—which does not belong to him—is not subject to his volition, nor to be used for his needs—but is the property of another, subservient to the interest or caprice of his owner. That system, so tersely described by John Wesley as "the sum of all villanies," has been broken and pulverized by the iron hammer of war which had been invoked by its friends to rivet more strongly its fetters, and extend its weary chain, with the slave-coffle, across the continent and around the world.

We sing pæans to-day, then, not merely for the liberation of eight hundred thousand, but for four millions of slaves, as the immediate result of the dread convulsion through which we have just passed. The yawning gulf of "chaos and old night" opened at our feet, and it could only be closed by the sacrifice of untold thousands of the nation's most precious children. That fruitful parent of all our woes is dead. On us and our children is placed the responsibility of seeing that it never has a resurrection.

The *Declaration of Public Law* has gone forth, wherever the stars and stripes of the American Union float on the breezes of heaven, "*that all men are born free.*" It is affirmed with an emphasis like the sound of many waters, in contradistinction from the infamous postulate with which slavery went forth to battle against the civilization of the age—it is proclaimed that there is something in every man, constituting the inherent, essential qualities of his human nature, which belongs to himself, and which cannot be bought and sold in the market, or made to minister to the cupidity and avarice of another.

The part of the great problem now lying unsolved immediately before us is to determine what is that *something* which belongs to every man. Is it not a right to the best use of all the faculties God has given him?—the right to choose the form of government under which he shall live? the right to home and family—to free thought, free speech, and free worship? The right, in fine, to everything essential to growth and happiness which the Commonwealth can furnish? This is what we have claimed for the slave. So ours, in its last analysis and result, is a complete and universal reform. Thus our work is but just begun. The Reformer can truly say, with Emerson, that "*he is an endless Seeker with no past at his back.*" With him nothing is completed while anything remains to be done. His work is that of criticism of the *actual*, and a perpetual demand for the realization of the *ideal*. But his is ever the attitude of hope, not of despair. His appeal is for justice always and everywhere. With the Hindoo of Eastern story, he says, "I cleave to Right as the sure ladder that leads up to man and to God." He acknowledges and accepts the good that is done; but he is on the alert to point out the rocks and quicksands that still lie along the pathway of the man and the nation. He rejoices, with a joy that can find no verbal expression, in that new morning of freedom before which the night of slavery is rapidly fading away; but he says, "To my eye there are still some lurid streaks in the expanding sunlight which are ominous of future tempests and convulsions in the 'reconstructed' Union." And this brings me to the string upon which I conceive we are to pound in our "rub-a-dub agitation" of the present hour—that is the question of equal, or negro suffrage.

We owe the negro far more than we can ever pay for the victory we now enjoy. When our great war began, it was predicted that whichever party succeeded in securing the assistance of the negroes would surely conquer. The peculiar nature of the conflict enabled us to see and act upon this "military necessity" first. And so we have won. But I venture to say that the valor and endurance of all the white soldiers we sent into the field, though perhaps never exceeded in the history of the world, and coupled with the marvellous resources which the government has otherwise developed and brought into play, would not have been sufficient, and the rebels would have succeeded in their nefarious work of breaking the Union into fragments, if the armed hand of the negro had not been thrown into our scale. The element of weakness in the South was the slave. This element Abraham Lincoln, of blessed memory, seized upon, and attached to the loyal cause; and so the hour of victory came, and the nation is saved.

For this we promised the negro his liberty. Shall he have it in *fact*, or only in form? It is proposed to leave him, with this name alone, at the mercy of the white population of the rebellious States, smarting under their defeat, and exasperated to madness by the knowledge that their overthrow has been accomplished by the aid which their former slaves gave to the National cause—it is proposed to leave these faithful and indispensable auxiliaries in such hands, without homes, without land, without any law in whose enactment and administration they have any voice, literally bound hand and foot, with not even the poor protection which the interest and lurking humanity of the former master gave them.

Against this be it ours to protest, as an act of injustice so cruel, of meanness so despicable, that it may well be called the crowning shame of the ages. No man and no people can ever prosper after consenting to it. Now is the time to cry aloud on this subject. If we cannot protect the emancipated blacks now, in the first flush of conscious triumph, when gratitude for our salvation is unchecked by the cupidity of personal or party interest, we shall never voluntarily do so. It can only be wrung from our hearts' blood, or that of our children.

I make no account of this plea of State Rights in bar of National justice to the negro. *There are no States.* They deliberately committed suicide. There is nothing left but so much territory belonging to the nation, and sundry defeated rebels, without one National or State right but to be tried and punished for their crimes. The machinery of those States can never be put in motion again except by the consent of the government against which they rebelled. Never was a clearer case. We used to say we were not responsible for the treatment of the blacks at the South. That plea can never be entered again. Of all the people on the planet, we are just the ones who have this matter in charge. In the name of good faith, common honesty, and the public safety, let us see to it that whoever is left "out in the cold" under the new order of things, it shall not be the only thoroughly loyal people in the rebellious South. They clung to the starry flag in its darkest hour. Through all the heavy night of doubt, and almost of despair, which so often shut down on the Union cause, those black faces were always the symbol of loyalty and truth. The curses of all that is good will light upon us if we leave them in their hour of need to the tender mercies of the "mean whites" of the South, and the meaner "Copperheads" of the North.

Nobody should be forsaken or neglected who has done anything to aid the Union in its mortal peril; but it is especially our mission as reformers—as Abolitionists—to see that justice is done to those poor black men, who, though laboring under the terrible disabilities of relentless prejudice and grinding servitude, by their sublime patience, courage and fidelity made it possible for the nation to live.

We flatter ourselves with the notion that the result of the conflict through which we have just passed is the triumph of democracy—of the people—over despotism and caste. This gives it not merely a national, but a human and world-wide significance. Thus our star becomes a cynosure of hope and promise to the struggling people everywhere. But let us have no more of that sham democracy which, with niggardly selfishness, confines itself to snarling at the aristocracy of birth, or wealth, or literature—"*I am as good as you,*" and at the same time despises the poor of other races and nations. Give us rather that genuine life—that pure democracy—which goes down to the bottom of society, and, in the spirit of the Great Reformer whose light streams through the centuries from the cross of Calvary to the outcast and oppressed of all races and climes, says, "You are as good as I. You are a man and brother. You are an heir to sublimer possibilities of activity and achievement than ever prophet dreamed or poet sang. Come up, my poor brother! Enter and take possession of your inheritance." This is the true democracy. How much of it is to be embodied in the life of this nation? Enough to save it, and make it commensurate with the wants of the human race? The answer is with each and all. The problem is the "riddle of man." The duty of life is to aid in its solution.

Yours in that work, N. H. Whiting.

Speech of C. L. Remond.

Charles Lenox Remond then briefly addressed the audience. He expressed the conviction, that whatever might be the results of emancipation in the future, so far it had failed. He believed, with Mr. Wright, that the suffrage question was to be the next great question in this country, but he did not believe that the people of this State were responsible for the wrongs to which Mr. Wright had referred. How long had it been true that a single Massachusetts man would permit Congress or the President to interfere with the local institutions of this State? He hoped that Congress, at its next session, would decide that no State should enter the Union but upon the basis of free suffrage, a free religion, and free social and civil rights. He asked this, not for his color, but for the welfare of the nation; and he agreed with the friends who had asserted, that unless that principle was adopted, freedom, democracy and civilization in this country were lost.

Speech of Andrew T. Foss.

Mr. Foss said his friend Remond had entirely changed the character of his speech. He had intended to criticise the government for its want of fidelity to freedom, but Mr. Remond had made such charges that his sense of justice was roused, and he felt obliged to defend the government.

There were many things he did not like in the present condition of the country. He did not like Mr. Johnson's idea that the rebel States had not lost their status. He (Mr. F.) believed they had; and he thought the President had recognised this fact, in appointing Military Governors for those States, which he could not do if they had not lost their character as States. He thought that if the President could interfere with the internal affairs of a State so far as to appoint its Governor, he could prescribe who should be the voters. He believed, as Gen. Nye had said, that the people of the rebellious States had lost all their rights but two; the first was the legal right to be hung, and the second was the divine right to be damned. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Foss said he was glad the President's plan was working so badly. He was glad the scoundrelism and rascality of the South were being made manifest. The scheme was working so badly, that he had every hope the President would change it. Already, the recent election in Richmond, it was said, had been declared null and void. A negro was shot in Mississippi for insolence to a white man; and, finding that the civil authorities did not arrest the murderer, Gen. Thomas did. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, which the General refused to obey, and wrote to Washington for instructions. The answer came back, "Don't obey the writ; and if the civil authorities won't try that man, try him by a military commission, and hang him." (Applause.) The President sees his plan working badly, and sends one of the most reliable and intelligent anti-slavery men of the country, Gen. Carl Shurtz, to inquire into the feelings of the people of the South in regard to their loyalty, and as to their treatment of the colored man, and report. He thought this indicated a willingness to change the policy, if its necessity was shown.

It had been said that no good had come to the black man. Was it nothing that 200,000 black men had worn the army blue and shouldered the U. S. musket? Was it nothing that Congress had passed the Amendment to the Constitution, and that its acceptance by the people had been assured? That was in prospect, but in such near prospect that he clasped it near his heart as a God-benison. He thought he was justified in being joyful and hopeful, in view of the prospect before us.

He agreed with all that had been said of the infamy of depriving the colored man of his vote. He did not believe the President ever intended to do it; if he did believe it, he should despise him. The President had his pet idea of State rights; that was his fetish, so to speak; but he desired that the States should establish their Constitutions in accordance with the Proclamation of Freedom, and in harmony with the great idea of human rights, that the ballot belongs to every man in the land who is amenable to the law, and has attained the requisite age. But if that would not work—and he (Mr. F.) knew it would not work—the President then intended to try another course; and so surely (said Mr. F.) as you and I live, the colored man will be the conquerer in this conflict, as he has been in every other. By giving a vote to the colored man, we should divide the fearful unanimity of the South, and be able to control those States. If we withheld the ballot from the black man, the Southerners would, by uniting their power with the Copperheads of the North, rule the country as in the olden time.

I said upon this stand, years ago (said Mr. Foss), that I should live to see slavery abolished; and some of you laughed—for I was gray when I said it. I have lived to see slavery abolished in this land; I have lived to see it go down to its grave; and now, God willing, I will live to see the negro a citizen; and then, if it please God, I will live about twenty years more to see the working of equality and freedom in this land; and then, my friends, I will fold my hands, and with Simeon of old exclaim, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

The Glee Club then sang, "There's victory at last," in a spirited and effective manner, which elicited the hearty applause of the audience.

Speech of Rev. Sereno E. Howe.

Rev. S. E. Howe, of East Abington, said this day was a brighter day than ever dawned upon this country before. We had always loved to think of British emancipation; we had always rejoiced in the fact that thousands of men had leaped up free, their shackles falling off in one blessed, God given hour; but when we thought of British emancipation, then came the remembrance of our own slaves, and we were ready to say, with Whittier, the sweetest poet, perchance, of America,—

> "Shall every flap of England's flag
> Proclaim that all around are free,
> From farthest Ind to each blue crag
> That beetles o'er the western sea;
> And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
> While freedom's fire is dim with us,
> And round our country's altar clings
> The damning shade of slavery's curse?"

But now, all that was past. The slave was no longer to be found, and his master was seen, a cowering, trembling, wretched being, going to Washington to ask for pardon at the hands of that government which he had spurned and hated, and sought to crush!

The failures of emancipation in the West Indies spoke to us, trumpet-toned, warning us that if we would make our emancipation a success, we must be just to every man—just to those who ought to meet with condign punishment, and just to those who had always been our friends. He had often been surprised that the negro, after all the obloquy and reproach and contempt that had been rolled upon him, was so ready to shoulder his musket, and go into the thickest of the fight; but he had done so, and the rebellion had been crushed. Now, did the negro beg for the ballot? No, he *claimed* it; he had a right to it; and it was not for us to say, "We will accord him the ballot; we will allow him to vote." He had the *right* to vote, and if he did not vote, we were guilty of accursed injustice. (Applause.) We were not doing a magnanimous thing when we said to the negro, "Here is the ballot-box open—come and vote, sir." There was no magnanimity about it; it was only doing just the thing which he had a right to claim.

Another thing which had surprised him was, that these slaveholding rebels should now claim that they had a right to decide who should and who should not vote. All the Republican newspapers were saying that there was a tremendous feeling in North Carolina and South Carolina and Virginia against the colored man's voting. Who was it that had that feeling? Why, those God-forsaken rebels who had just escaped the halter (Applause.) These men had the impudence to tell whom they wanted to vote, and whom they didn't want to vote. All he had to say about that was, that so far as the greater part of the South were concerned, it was just distinctly and particularly none of their business who voted! (Applause.) Sometimes it was said that it would irritate these men who were asking pardon if we said the negro should have the right of suffrage. A few years ago, it was said that it would be a terribly irritating thing if the black man should be allowed to fight. Well, it did terribly irritate the slaveholders when the black man fought: it hurt them, but they needed to be hurt, and it did them good. It would hurt their feelings more when the negro had the ballot than when he had the musket, for it would tend to place freedom on a firmer basis.

There is just this about it, said Mr. Howe: either the negro is to vote, or the country is a used-up concern; and the negro is going to vote. I don't care whether that right is alienable or inalienable—whether it was born with him or not; all I want to know is that he has it.

Speech of Wm. A. Jackson.

Wm. A. Jackson, known as the former coachman of the Chief of the rebel Confederacy, was then introduced, and made quite a telling speech. He said he did not agree with what had been said with respect to the little progress that had been made. If he had been born in Salem and been educated in Paris, perhaps he should think differently; but looking back on his slave life, he felt that his existence did not commence till 1862, though he was thirty years old. He thought if Mr. Remond had talked in the same strain that he had to-day when he was engaged in enlisting colored troops he would not have obtained a single man.

He thought the people of Massachusetts had a right to say who should vote in the Southern States, and he felt very sure that if the black man was ever to get the rights of citizenship, they must be given to him by somebody else than by the Southern rebels, who had been subdued, but not converted. He believed it was for the people of New England and the West to say that the rebel States should not come back, except on the basis of negro suffrage. He expected the [illegible] people to make blunders. He knew that they had been brought up to everything like an ox to the slaughter (laughter); but all he wanted was to have them stay there after they got there.

Mr. Jackson thought the appointment of the rebel Governors would be beneficial to the cause of freedom, because, when Congress met, they would say, "we have tried them three or four months, to see what they will do. We see that they are tyrants and rebels now, and therefore we must pass some laws by which the colored men shall have the ballot, to sustain not only themselves, but the Republic." The prospect before us, then, was bright.

Speech of George W. Stacy.

Geo. W. Stacy, of Milford, was the last speaker. He said he felt it good to be there, to look into the faces of the people, and to hear what he had heard; and yet they were not there so much to think about West India Emancipation, as about our own day of complete jubilee. Although they might say prospectively, that their work was finished, yet there was a great deal to be done, for in every community there still existed a bitter prejudice against the oppressed race, which must be exorcised from the human heart, before it could ascend to the plane of liberty, and all men be recognised as the children of one common Father, who loves and blesses us all. They were looking for that brighter day, that day foretold by prophets; but it would not come unless they worked, and worked faithfully still.

He felt that although there was much for which we should thank God, and take courage, yet there was also much that should cause sadness. We could not tell what the future might bring. It might bring all we hoped for; but he would say, that God would work no miracle; we must keep our hands to the plough, and not look back until the slave is not only freed from the shackles of bondage, but in the enjoyment of all the privileges of a free man.

Let us go home, said Mr. Stacy, with the determination that what we have heard shall not be lost; with the determination that God, who strengthens every good purpose, shall be honored, not in profession, not in ceremony, but in honest and earnest lives, so that wherever we go, all that we do or say, shall be on the side of that truth and righteousness which shall bring about that glorious period for which we have been sighing, lo! these many years. I have looked around to-day and seen many pleasant faces, but some that I should have been glad to see are not here. They are with us, I trust, in spirit; I wish they had been with us in the flesh. But, my friends, roll on the Liberty ball! "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," let us not stop in this work until the negro stands by our side an equal brother. May God give us all strength to be faithful, and not to cease from our labors until the day shall come which we desire, when there shall be no slavery, either for body or mind, upon the face of the earth. (Applause.)

The popular song, "Tramp, tramp, tramp," was then sung, in an admirable manner, by the Glee Club; at the conclusion of which, on the motion of Robert F. Wallcut, a vote of thanks was passed to the Club for their welcome contribution to the pleasure of the occasion.

The hour having arrived for the departure of the train for Boston, the meeting adjourned.

☞ The thirty-first anniversary of West India Emancipation was celebrated at Myrick's Grove by a large congregation of colored people from Providence, Boston, New Bedford, and other places. Dr. J. B. Smith, of Boston, presided. The resolutions adopted express fears that the government may recognise a principle by which the freedmen of the South may be forever excluded from the ballot-box; claim that the country is in duty and honor bound to secure to the colored citizens of the Republic equal liberty in every respect; urge that those who have so nobly defended the flag with bullets ought not to be deprived of the privilege of defending it with ballots; that without the elective franchise, all other rights become mere privileges to be held at the option of any political party; and that they will never be satisfied with anything short of perfect and absolute equality before the law.—*Liberator*.